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ABSTRACT

This volume contains papers presented at a symposium on public policy and educating handicapped persons. Included are: (1) "Public Policy and the Special Education Task for the 1980s: Report of the Wingspread Conference" (M. C. Reynolds et al.); (2) "The Emerging System for Educating Handicapped Children" (L. E. Lynn, Jr.); (3) "Effectiveness of Special Education" (G. V. Glass); (4) "Public Education: A System to Meet Its Needs" (R. B. Howsam); (5) "How Can Special Education Be Coordinated with Other Service Systems?" (D. J. Stedman); (6) "Special Education: The Cost of Experimentation" (F. J. Macchiarola and R. W. Bailey); (7) "Great Expectations: Making Schools Effective for All Students" (R. H. Hersh and H. M. Walker); (8) "Restructuring 'Special' School Programs: A Position Paper" (M. C. Reynolds and M. C. Wang); (9) "Guides for Future Special Education Policy" (T. Joe and F. Farrow; and (10) "The Effectiveness of Special Education: A Survey" (J. Brandl). Responses to papers by J. S. Frankl, M. Scriven, I. H. Simpson, and G. Dybwad are included as are reflections on the conference by K. C. Lakin and M. Ziegler and an epilogue by W. C. Copeland. (CB)

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Policy Studies Review, Vol. 2, Special # 1, January, 1983

SELECTED ABSTRACTS

THE EMERGING SYSTEM FOR EDUCATING HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Laurence E. Lynn, Jr.

The goals of Public Law 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, were ambitious: to expand public education for handicapped children and to end inappropriate social and academic segregation of such children in public schools. Many children face better prospects as a result of the Act, although love and common sense have not yet fully supplanted rivalry and conflict in the education of handicapped children. Moreover, the intrinsic appeal of the program's goals, the strength of advocacy organizations, and the relative sturdiness of statutory, legal, and administrative underpinnings for the program virtually preclude its repeal under the onslaught of budgetary pressures.

EFFECTIVENESS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

Gene V. Glass

Most of this paper reviews three major integrative analyses—meta-analyses—of special education efficacy. The first deals with the effects of the placement of low-IQ pupils in resource rooms or full-time special education classes. The second and third look specifically at the two principal types of intervention offered in the name of differential diagnostic-prescriptive special education, that is, perceptual-motor and psychollinguistic training. The data contained in these reviews form the basis for some concluding (and fragmentary) thoughts on effective teaching and educational policy.

PUBLIC EDUCATION: A SYSTEM TO MEET ITS NEEDS

Robert B. Howsam

The educational system in all its complexities contains many causes of its increasing problems; only systemic redesign and development can make it equal to its challenges and charge. It has grown up over a period of 350 years resolving each new problem within the context of current assumptions, practices, perceptions of reality, conditions, and structures. The result is a system that is replete with dysfunctions, that has a history but not a defensible rationale. Recognizably, the public education system has been central to the hopes and dreams of the American people. Whether it continues to be so will depend upon the capacity of the people who believe in it to reconstruct and redirect it so that it will serve the twenty-first century with the same distinction that it served earlier generations.

HOW CAN SPECIAL EDUCATION BE COORDINATED WITH OTHER SERVICE SYSTEMS?

Donald J. Stedman

In order to address the question posed in the title, it is necessary (a) to briefly define and describe special education and to explain that it is not now well coordinated with other service systems, (b) to describe an integrated service system and provide a status report on the development of such a system, (c) to speculate on the future of special education, and (d) to attempt to describe the tasks before it in the 1980s.

SPECIAL EDUCATION: THE COST OF EXPERIMENTATION

Frank J. Macchiarola and Robert W. Bailey

The current ambivalence toward special education programs is understandable. Any major reform initially finds expectations conflicting with the actual problems of implementation. Unfortunately, the present ambivalence occurs in the midst of a more general ambivalence toward public education and government activities as a whole. After reviewing the results of the research presented by Hersh and Walker and Glass, I argue in my response that the solution to our managerial and political problems in special education is effectiveness. At least one necessary ingredient in achieving this end is higher expectations for all, and especially for special children. My observations conclude with a suggested political agenda for each group that is active in special education.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS: MAKING SCHOOLS EFFECTIVE FOR ALL STUDENTS

Richard H. Hersh and Hill M. Walker

The authors focus on the role of teacher expectations as a determinant of schooling effectiveness and a mediating factor in successful mainstreaming. A range of studies of schooling effectiveness are reviewed and analyzed. High teacher expectations for childrens' performances consistently emerge as a determinant of effective schooling in these studies. The implications of these findings for the mainstreaming process are discussed and the available literature on mainstreaming reviewed. The paper argues that teachers' expectations and standards for children's social behavior are a significant factor to be dealt with in making mainstreaming an effective reality for the range of handicapped children. Finally, a methodology for measuring the social behavior standards and expectations of teachers in least restrictive settings is presented. Results of the instruments' use with an initial validation sample of regular (n = 50) and special (n = 22) education teachers are described.

RESTRUCTURING "SPECIAL" SCHOOL PROGRAMS: A POSITION PAPER

Maynard C. Reynolds and Margaret C. Wang

Education for handicapped students should proceed within a framework of responsive education that meets the individual needs of all children. In this paper there is proposed the restructuring of schools in the context of four basic programming and procedural conditions: (a) continued federal support for programs for handicapped children and youth; (b) authorization for experimental programs that cut across many current categorical programs; (c) extending the emphasis of programs to include regular education (nonhandicapped) as well as mainstreamed, special/compensatory education students; and (d) waiving restrictive federal and state rules and regulations to permit responsible experimentation to take place with the certainty of certain commitments. Further, there is advanced a method of redefining the roles of personnel in public education to support the individualization of education for all students and to foster communication between educational researchers and practitioners. An example of an experimental program that meets the foregoing conditions is discussed.

GUIDES FOR FUTURE SPECIAL EDUCATION POLICY

Tom Joe and Frank Farrow

Until recently, special education has received undiluted political support at all levels of government and special educators have had the luxury of being able to obtain almost any degree of program advancement. Under the Reagan Administration, however, P.L. 94-142 is facing mounting opposition. If special education is to be defended in the coming years and, thereby, to retain the financial, political, and philosophical support it has enjoyed, it must first be reexamined and its future policy course charted somewhat differently. The authors recommend that future policy be based on a recognition of financial constraints, political support, and a clear understanding of actual local operations. Only through an understanding of the mix of formal and informal arrangements by which programs are carried out will policies be designed that effectively promote best practices at the classroom level.

Policy Studies Review, Vol. 2, Special # 1, January, 1983

I. SYMPOSIUM ON PUBLIC POLICY AND EDUCATING HANDICAPPED PERSONS

Symposium Editors, Maynard C. Reynolds, John Brandl and William C. Copeland

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE SPECIAL EDUCATION TASK FOR THE 1980s: REPORT OF THE WINGSPREAD CONFERENCE

Maynard C. Reynolds, John Brandl and William C. Copeland

INTRODUCTION

The New Policies

The movement to adopt the normalization and least restrictive environment principles, the latter known popularly as "mainstreaming," in the education of handicapped children achieved many of its policy objectives with the enactment of Public Law 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. This landmark legislation, along with a series of definitive judicial decisions and the supportive legislation enacted by most states, defined a broad set of rights for handicapped children and their parents. In the brief period since 1975 the lives of many handicapped children and youth have been changed; at the same time, a number of important questions and problems have emerged. The following are illustrative:

- Many seriously handicapped children who, earlier, were institutionalized, receiving minimal services at home, or dependent upon day care centers for socialization, have been enrolled in local schools. Not all schools are prepared to serve these children, however.
- Many mildly and moderately handicapped students have been moved out of special day classes and schools into regular classrooms, a change that has had significant repercussions on these classrooms and their teachers and on the referral and placement systems of schools.
- All forms of school demissions (excused absences, expulsions, suspensions, and exclusions) have been eliminated except when due process requirements are fully met and alternative methods of satisfying the right to education principle are instituted.
- Parents (or surrogates) of handicapped students have a right to participate in the assessment of, planning for, and placement of their exceptional children. Due process must be observed in all educational decisions. Neither parents nor teachers are well prepared for these collaborative functions.
- Goals and objectives for the education of handicapped students must be specified and agreed to by educators and parents. The procedures required in such detailed planning, the establishment of new relations with parents in order to comply with the procedures, and the observance of due process principles are highly time consuming and may encroach upon teaching time.

- New skills and even new or different roles are demanded of various school personnel:
  - Regular classroom teachers are expected to assume functions for which they have not been trained and to serve a more diverse group of children than ever before. Teacher-preparation programs across the nation have been slow to respond to the reconceptualization of elementary and secondary school teaching roles.
  - The service demands for special education teachers have changed from direct (teaching small classes of exceptional children) to indirect (performing consultative and support functions in regular classrooms). Again, the response of preparation programs has been slow and episodic.
  - Other specialists (e.g., school psychologists and social workers) are being deployed to decentralized settings to work with exceptional students. Their gatekeeping functions, that is, identifying students for special placements or services, frequently have tended to crowd out other professional functions.

Other difficulties encountered by local school systems in their attempts to comply with Public Law 94-142 include inadequate and dysfunctional funding procedures, community and state budgetary difficulties, and the absence of coordination with other human service agencies. In order to address these problems we must recognize that the total shape of education is at stake. Although so-called handicapped children may comprise only some 10-12 percent of all children, they now take up the time of as many as one out of every 5 teachers in many school districts. The accommodations required by many handicapped students in regular classrooms and schools affect the education of all students. Indeed, many observers see the immediate changes brought about by Public Law 94-142 as but openers for pervasive alterations in instruction for all children.

Given that schools are cultural institutions, their problems are as much reflections of societal changes as of educational practices. Schools have become more inclusive because society is more inclusive and because it has come to value education highly as an avenue for an individual's economic and social advancement. It is somewhat ironic that the efforts of so many people in the educational establishment to effectuate the social policy should be expended at the time that many schools are closing, teachers are being fired, and the economy is in straits.

Even the future of Public Law 94-142 in the U.S. Congress has been uncertain since 1980. However, although legislative action may change the funding and some specific provisions of the law, it is unlikely that such action will eliminate the concepts and provisions that have been adjudicated. The ethical and moral implications of the law have been recognized by many educators and community members, which will give their views considerable weight in the future, but the practices of educators in trying to comply with the law have come into question.

It has been pretty much an accepted fact, until recently, that when education was under discussion educators would frame both the questions and responses. This situation is dubious, currently, because of the problems and dissatisfactions which have arisen in the schools. Thus it is likely that the effects of the social policy on education will be high on the list of topics for scrutiny by public policy scholars in the 1980s. Political and economic analyses have benefited other social service areas; it is time that the analysts turned their attention to education and, specifically, to the systems of providing equal educational opportunity for handicapped students.

ORIGINS OF THE WINGSPREAD CONFERENCE

The conference and these printed proceedings had their origins in the context of efforts to carry out the purposes of Public Law 94-142. At the University of Minnesota, the National Support Systems Project (NSSP), directed by Professor M.C. Reynolds, has provided technical assistance for some years to Dean's Grant Projects, a program initiated in 1975 by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (now, the Office of Special Education in the U.S. Department of Education) to support the improvement of preparation programs for regular classroom teachers. To date, some 240 colleges and universities have received grants.

As part of its support for the Dean's Grant program, NSSP staff members, particularly Professor Reynolds and the Assistant to the Director, Karen Lundholm, undertook discussions with Professors John Brandl and William Copeland of the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota on the possibility of examining public policies in education, particularly in relation to such key issues as the financing, organization, content, and expected outcomes of special education and related services. Subsequently, members of the Advisory Board to the NSSP were included in the discussion and plans were made for calling the Wingspread Conference. The planning committee consisted of the four initiators, Mrs. Martha Ziegler, Director, Federation for Children with Special Needs, Boston, Massachusetts; Dr. Robert Howsam, former Dean of Education, University of Houston; Professor Bert Sharp, University of Florida, immediate past president of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and Chairperson of the NSSP Advisory Board, and Dr. Robert Gilberts, Dean of Education, University of Oregon, and a member of the NSSP Advisory Board. Dr. Gilberts also represented the interests and support of the University of Oregon Center on Educational Policy and Management. Dr. William Boyd and Dr. Henry Halsted of the Johnson Foundation joined in the planning activities when it became clear that they would be able to accommodate the conference.

The conference was held at Wingspread, the center near Racine, Wisconsin, operated by the Johnson Foundation, on September 10-12, 1981, under the joint sponsorship of the National Support Systems Project, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, Center on Educational Policy and Management of the University of Oregon, and the Johnson Foundation.

Basic Questions

To summarize the purposes of the conference the following five questions were directed to all participants:

1. What does the current system for allocating and serving handicapped children look like and how does it work?
2. What do we know about the effectiveness of *current practice,* and to what extent is best practice a part of current practice.
3. *How can public policy contribute to the quality of teaching* in programs for handicapped children and youth?
4. *How is the special education system actually or potentially integrated with other systems?*
5. Is there a need for general restructuring of the special education area and of its relations with "regular" education? What lessons can be learned from the experience of implementing legislation for other special *populations which are applicable to the special education area?*

Papers

On the basis of the five basic questions, eight colleagues were asked to contribute primary papers, one each in response to the first four questions ("the first four papers") and four in response to the last; the reasons for the latter was to have a variety of views on potential solutions. When the first four papers were in draft outline, the authors met for one day in late Spring 1981 in Chicago to discuss their work. By late Summer (1981) final copies of the papers were available for mailing to reactors. All major presentations and reactions were available before the conference and were edited subsequently for publication.

Conference Method

Each participant was able to go over the major papers in advance of the conference; the reactors had time to prepare thoughtful reactions; and the persons preparing the crucial solution papers had time to examine the contents of the first four papers which, in some sense, are propaedeutic to theirs. At the conference, discussions went on for two days, first covering the topics assigned to the four primary authors and then the four solutions-oriented papers. The order of presentation at the conference is followed in this publication.

To keep the purposes of the conference in focus, the initiators outlined the concerns that were fundamental to each major topic. Thus the contributions of the authors in the five sessions should be read with these outlines in mind.

Session I: The Emerging System for Allocating and Serving Handicapped Children (addressed to Lynn)

The activities of complex organizations and groups of organizations that serve similar purposes can be considered a formal system. The system has rules for taking people in, taking them through the service portion of the system, and discharging them from the system.

In large social enterprises, the rules for performing these functions usually are public; nevertheless, much of what happens in such enterprises does not accord with the public rules but follows some other set of rules.

One of the major tasks of human services policy analysis is to find out how a system actually works, compare the results with what the formal rhetoric says about how the system should work, determine why it works differently, and then recommend the changes that should be made to allow the system to work more in accord with the formal rhetoric.

Fifteen years of research in this area has turned up a number of factors that influence how a large service system actually works and why it produces "unintended results." A few of these "results" are suggested as follows:

- Pre-eminently, service is performed where the money is, regardless of whether the rhetoric says the service should be performed somewhere else.
- Professionals provide the services they know how to provide regardless of what the recipient of service may need.
- As a corollary, service systems serve those who come to the door, regardless of what they require.
- Historically, established service systems (and the interests that represent them) act as if their first duty is to survive, whether the rhetoric says they should survive or not.
- When service personnel are faced with the choice of documenting compliance (as a condition of funding) or providing the services defined by the rhetoric of the system, they will document compliance first.
- When faced with a choice of recipients who are "easy" or "hard" to serve, and formal rewards for dealing with each are equal, the service person will choose to deal with recipients who are easy to serve.
- If portions—or all—of the service system are seen as a "free lunch," they will attract extra use, whether the services are needed or not.

Various forms of analysis of working systems can be carried out to clarify how the system is working in both its intended and unintended effects. Current processes of allocating children to services would be examined as part of the system. This would yield a description of current practice outcomes and, insofar as current practice and its outcomes deviated from expected Public Law 94-142 practice and outcomes, an implicit critique of the working of the system.

Part of the analysis is always to work backward from assignment outcomes which seem "odd" to those factors that caused the odd result. An example for the analyst can be found in the differences among states in assigning labels to children. Although the numbers of children classified as learning disabled (LD) and mentally retarded (MR) are about equal (LD = 969,369; MR = 944,909), the ratio of mentally retarded to the sum of the two classifications, by state, ranges from .22 in Wyoming to .81

in Alabama.[1] How a child is perceived and served is quite different, depending on residence. A large number of children in some states are given one classification but, if the children were in other states, they would be given the other classification. These data indicate a "looseness" in the classification system. It is probable that a number of informal classification factors will turn up, on investigation, which are not usually associated with the rhetoric of the educators making the classifications.

Another approach is to construct a flow chart depicting the succession of decisions made for a child, the basis for them, and what occurs as a result. A common result of such analysis is to discover current gaps, vacuous rules, and inherent contradictions in policy.

A last, important part of the analysis is to deal with the system under different levels of resources for carrying out the policy. How do available levels of resource affect the selection of persons in the system who are different with respect to race, income, or geography?

The development of the analysis should provide a picture of the current system and a sense of how efficient and equitable it is on its own terms, that is, when held up against the legislation (e.g., Public Law 94-142) governing it.

Session II: What Do We Know About the Effectiveness of Current Practice? (addressed to Glass)

Legislation governing the education of handicapped persons, especially such very important federal statutes of recent years as Public Law 94-142, is framed almost exclusively in procedural terms: handicapped children are entitled to public education, in the least restrictive environment, by means of an educational program designed for each child, and parents may participate in the development of their child's educational program.

Furthermore, criticism of current practice tends to be directed toward violation of procedural norms. For example, the April 16, 1980, "Report on Federal Compliance Activities to Implement the Education for All Handicapped Children Act," issued by the Education Advocates Coalition (a group of 13 organizations), is devoted entirely to making a persuasive case that the federal government is not aggressively devoted to insuring compliance with the designated procedures. However, apart from whether procedural norms are being met, it is important to know the effects of the system on the children.

Whereas the paper for Session I would describe current procedure, the paper for Session II would ask the twofold question: What do we know about the effectiveness of different educational approaches and to what extent is best practice a part of actual practice? A subsidiary question is, What are the knowledge bases on which new systems are being constructed and how sound are they?

These questions place the conference squarely in the center of the continuing debate over the efficacy of social policy in general. Professor Glass would report not only on what is known about the effectiveness of current education for handicapped children and youth but, also, on the capacity of existing analytical techniques to gauge that effectiveness.

Most education evaluations—indeed, most evaluations of social programs—are one of two main types: surveys of large numbers of projects (e.g., the Coleman Report) and demonstrations. Both have serious flaws. Surveys provide a sweeping picture of current practice. "Treatment" is perforce heterogeneous. Experimental controls are absent or nearly so. Post hoc attempts to hold factors constant statistically are unlikely to succeed because data will not have been collected on some crucial aspects of some of the great variety of programs. Furthermore, even if it is granted that a survey provides a description of an "average" project, it may not be helpful in understanding how to replicate outliers, projects that seem to have been particularly effective. Demonstrations have similar inadequacies because, typically, they do not offer systematic variation of treatment or comparison of treatment and control groups. Rather, demonstrations usually are justified by their very existence: "See, it can be done."

The relative weakness of learning theory applied to the teaching of handicapped children, and of mathematical-statistical techniques of inference, may have contributed to bringing about the difficulties in the evaluation of educational programs. (Recall that legislation currently governing the education of handicapped persons, and critiques of current practice, are set almost exclusively in procedural rather than substantive or effective terms.) Aaron Wildavsky argued that social engineers, incapable of accomplishing the "great Society" through infusions of funds into education and other social programs, have engaged in a "retreat from objectives." They came to justify their work not on the basis of its ultimate effect on clients but on whether it meets procedural norms, which is easily determined.

A reconnaissance of the frantics of learning theory and inferential statistics for the purpose of determining both what we know about the effectiveness of current practice and what we *can* know would be of value not only to policymakers in this area but, also, to the broad range of social policy.

In devoting Session II to outcomes, there is no presumption that the set of measures will be dominated by employment and income statistics, as is often the case in estimations of education production functions. The set should not even be limited to achievement measures. There should be full recognition that education is both an investment service yielding job, income, and leisure benefits in the future and a consumption service yielding current satisfaction to students as they go through a more or less humane system.

Session III: How Can Public Policy Improve the Quality of Teaching in Programs for the Handicapped? (addressed to Howsam)

Given that the Conference intended ultimately to enhance the work of educators of handicapped persons and that the bulk of educational resources devoted to such students is expended on teachers' salaries, the question asked here is an important one. Five derivative questions should be considered in this session:

1. What are the characteristics of effective teachers of handicapped children and youth?
2. What can and should public authorities do to make sure that teachers possess the essential characteristics? To what extent can those characteristics be imparted? Are there cost trade-offs among the the several desirable characteristics? Does the public have an interest in trade-offs?
3. Is there a public obligation to limit or expand the number of people being trained to become teachers of handicapped students?
4. Who should receive training: current or new teachers, general classroom teachers, or special education teachers?
5. Do current teacher-preparation institutions have the capacity to do the job and if not, why not?

SESSION IV: How is the Special Education System Actually or Potentially Integrated with Other Systems? (addressed to Stedman)

The special education system does not operate in a vacuum. It has administrative, fiscal, legal, and program relations with other systems. How each system is funded and chooses to operate has important effects on the special education system.

Some of the systems with which the special education system must deal are as follows:

- Day Care Systems (including Headstart)
- Community Mental Retardation Systems
- Community Mental Health Systems
- The Child Welfare System
- The Vocational Rehabilitation System
- The Maternal and Child Health System
- The Crippled Children's Agency
- State Institutions (mental health, mental retardation, deaf, blind correctional)
- The Juvenile Court and Court Services System
- Public Welfare Income Maintenance Systems (AFDC, SSI, MA, GA)
- The Social Security System
- Other divisions of the public school systems (e.g., vocational education)
- The Public Welfare Social Services System (blind and deaf services, other special-target-group social services).

Each system has funding and service rules and regulations for "its" target population which by virtue of the target population for that system, overlap with the special education system and its rules.

Each overlap introduces problems of adjustments in role, responsibility, accountability, and funding between the special education agency and each other agency, and the potential for conflict. For example, who funds the education of a foster child in an out-of-home placement? Who funds day activities, transportation, and supportive social services for a mentally retarded child attending a day activity center? Can funding from other agencies be secured for in-school education and related services for handicapped children in the public schools? Can funding be arranged so that the fiscal incentives are directed to the most normalized education possible?

A large number of arbitrary discontinuities exist between the special education system and its related systems, as well as within the system among states, and even within states. For example, age discontinuities relate to when special education picks up the child and when the child is no longer eligible to be served by the system; level of condition discontinuities mandate that a handicapped child with a particular condition be served by the special education system in one state but by a "community programs" system in other states (e.g., community mental health, community mental retardation, state blind services, etc.); and labeling discontinuities dictate that a child with a particular condition be diagnosed as having one condition (therefore requiring a series of teaching and treatment modalities specific to that condition) in one state, but be diagnosed quite differently in another state (e.g., the learning disability/mental retardation example).

Can some general rules be ascertained to guide program-by-program negotiation and implementation of interprogram arrangements so that falling between the cracks, program discontinuities, bending programs out of shape through perverse fiscal incentives, and "turf warfare" are minimized?

SESSION V: Is There a Need for General Restructuring of the Special Education Area? Are There Lessons That Can Be Learned from the Experience of Implementing Legislation for Other Special Populations That Can be Useful to the Special Education Area? (addressed to Macchiarola & Bailey, Hersh & Walker, Joe & Farrow, and Reynolds & Wang)

This session is meant to build on the analyses of the preceding four papers and discussions. There is some opinion that the current option used within the special education system—tinkering or disjunctive incrementalism—has very few rewards left in it. There are four basic problems in deciding how children are allocated within the system, how to ensure compliance with "state of the art" practice, how to insure effective teacher training, how to deal with associated agencies, and the relation between the way the system now functions and what it does for and to the child, Given the complexity of the system, the difficulties of its functioning, what we have learned in the first years of its functioning, it may be that we want a "grand strategy" for restructuring the system so that it functions better. Are any such grand strategies on the horizon?

If so, what do they look like? Specifically, what are their implications for teacher preparation? What should be done to investigate their political, fiscal, programmatic, and administrative feasibility?

Maynard C. Reynolds, John Brandl and William C. Copeland

SOME SPECIAL PERSPECTIVES

At least two related special problems of communication arose during the Wingspread Conference and the preparation of these proceedings. They are (a) classification of children and (b) shifting programmatic structures and research relevance.

It is very easy to be unclear about the term "handicapped," especially in discussions of Public Law 94-142. This law requires appropriate education to be provided for literally all handicapped children, including those with the most severe and profound impairments (SPI), a relatively low incidence and highly diverse group. After 1975, for the first time, many school districts launched programs for SPI students. These programs usually were built upon newly developed technologies, supplied in large part by behavioral psychologists and educators. The children enrolled in the programs often came from conditions of total neglect and denial of education or from isolation in residential institutions. Now many of them attend systematic community-based programs with individualized goals and periodic evaluations. From the perspective of these children and their families the gains, since 1975, have been dramatic. No one would deny these children their gains.

For many purposes, however, SPI pupils should be separated from discussions about children and youth with milder handicapping conditions, of whom there are many more. This is to say that general references to "the handicapped" often are a disservice to everyone concerned; we must be more specific about the precise subset of handicapped pupils we have in mind in making claims of knowledge and devising plans. Yet it is difficult to be specific; boundaries are unclear and subclassifications are unreliable and controversial especially among children with mild-to-moderate handicapping conditions. The most difficulties occur in the several categories that make up the largest numbers of cases: the educable mentally retarded, the learning disabled, the speech and language impaired, and the emotionally disturbed. Many studies show that the classification procedures in many schools are very unreliable and that the categories gain or lose in popularity according to political and community pressures or differential financial incentives. Thus, during much of the conference and in these proceedings, ambiguities becloud the question of which handicapped children and youth are under discussion.

The second and related problem comprises programmatic shifts and research relevance. Just as deinstitutionalization has caused major alterations in residential placement and release policies, so Public Law 94-142 has caused major upheavals in schools' administrative arrangements. This makes knowledge about institutions and special education programs that might have been credible a decade ago mostly irrelevant now. In recent years most children with mild to moderate handicaps have been moved, at least part time, from special classes and schools to mainstream classes. This arrangement makes much of the research of earlier times on administrative practices irrelevant.

A great deal of awkwardness is unavoidable, consequently, when we address the problems of education for "handicapped" children, a poorly defined group, in this period of rapid change in administrative arrangements. It should not be surprising that we have this difficulty considering that one of the fundamental purposes of Public Law 94-142 is to reorder the administrative arrangements for special education.

CONCLUSION

We hope that the issues examined in this report of the Wingspread Conference will stimulate readers to make further thoughtful explorations of the topics. A social policy is not merely a statement of the ideal, a goal for achievement sometime in the nebulous future. Each policy represents a national consensus on what is just and good and necessary at a particular time. And it holds the potential of affecting the aspirations and lives of millions of citizens. For more than a century, now, the United States has had policies for the treatment of handicapped persons; it has only been in the last decade, however, that those policies have been expanded to extend to this special population the same rights and privileges as all other citizens hold. The question facing us today is not whether the extension of those rights and privileges is right and just—we know that it is—but, rather, how can we make those rights and privileges functional. Wingspread Conference, we hope, was one step on the path to answering that question.

FOOTNOTE

1. *Yearbook of Special Education,* 1979-80. Chicago, Ill.: Marquis Academic Media, 1979, p. 20.

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THE EMERGING SYSTEM FOR EDUCATING HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Laurence E. Lynn, Jr.

Among the impediments to the development of handicapped children through at least the 1960s[1] was the prospect awaiting them when they reached school age. The following stories were typical.

> – Although scoring within the normal range on an IQ test, *Anne* was performing poorly in school. Her teachers had noted she got along poorly with her peers, often gave inappropriate responses during class and was inattentive and often daydreamed. Due to her poor math and reading skills, Anne repeated both the first and third grades, and she barely made it to high school. Her teachers believed she was "just not trying hard enough," and they suspected that her disruptive family life was to blame. Her counselor recommended that she drop out of school and pursue her interest and unusual talent in guitar at a public alternative school.
>
> – Born with brain damage that caused severe motor disability, *Debby* was one of the 0.3 percent of American infants born each year with cerebral palsy. Because she was unable to walk until she was 6 years old, her parents never seriously considered burdening the local school with her. Unsure of what to do, her parents turned to the county hospital where Debby spent several days with a neurologist, a psychologist, an ophthalmologist, an otologist, an orthopedist, and a physical therapist. The specialists found Debby somewhat mentally deficient (IQ 70), yet they considered her prospects for education and a semi-independent life excellent if she would enroll in the special center run by the United Cerebral Palsy Association next to the hospital. The center was over 100 miles from Debby's home and prohibitively expensive, so her family had no choice but to try to do what they could for their daughter at home.
>
> – *John* did not talk by the age of 4 and was referred for a medical and psychological examination. He was suspected to have a chromosomal translocation which is symptomatic of Down's syndrome. He was untestable on the Stanford Binet IQ test and it was estimated that his IQ was below 50. Because of the suspected chromosomal aberration, he was classified as a child with Down's syndrome and placed in a pre-school class for trainable mentally retarded children (Kirk & Gallagher, 1979, pp. 291-292).
>
> – Mrs. Clark had her fill of *Raymond* for the afternoon. He had so totally disrupted the day's unit on world geography that he had been sent to the supply room during reading period. While Mrs. Clark and the rest of the class took turns reading from a textbook, Raymond amused himself with the abacus, the globe, and science experiments stored in

the 10 x 20 foot storage room known to his classmates as "Ray's room."

Raymond was an attractive and bright 11-year-old whose behavior caused frequent segregation from his classmates and often temporary suspensions from school. Rarely sitting still in class, Raymond was often caught crawling along the floor in the back of the classroom or "fishing" barehanded in the goldfish bowl. When returned to his seat, it was usually less than a minute before he was back in the closet trying on hats and coats, to the delight of his classmates. Although athletic, Raymond had been "kicked off" nearly every team in the school as well as excluded from other extracurricular activities.

Called "hyperactive" by his parents, Raymond was called "disruptive" by the principal. Despite his poor grades, he was regularly promoted by teachers who seemed glad to be rid of him. Teachers dreaded his placement in their classes, and it was widely thought that the principal was punishing Mrs. Clark for her deferred retirement by placing Raymond in her class. Untrained and overmatched, Mrs. Clark had found an acceptable truce with Raymond. She expected little work out of him in exchange for peace in her classroom. Spending much of his time in the supply room or roaming the halls disrupting other classes, Raymond was nonetheless expected to graduate.

– *Arthur's* parents had moved from Mexico to the United States only weeks before his birth so that Arthur would be entitled to all the rights and privileges that citizenship carries. Arthur grew up in the barrio of Los Angeles and first encountered American culture while attending one of the city's public schools. English would always be a second language to him and despite his best efforts he rapidly fell behind his classmates. After repeating third grade with little success, Arthur was sent to the school psychologist for an IQ test. His teachers were not surprised to hear that he had scored in the 50s, placing him in the mildly retarded range. He attended school the following year in the special class for educable mentally retarded children which was held in a quanset hut-type shed, formerly used to store building supplies. Arthur spent his after-school hours at his father's neighborhood grocery, occasionally helping to sweep up or deliver a package or two nearby. As he grew older, Arthur took on more and more responsibility at the store with such competence that his father felt comfortable letting him run a cash register and assist with inventory. Customers were certain that someday Arthur would take over his father's position at the store and become a leader in the community.

These anecdotes describe but five of the nearly 4 million children[2] who were counted as receiving some kind of special education service from public schools in 1975, the year The Education for All Handicapped Children Act (Public Law 94-142) was signed into law. Table 1 shows the number of handicapped children by disability who were served at various periods between 1875 and 1980-1981. The objectives of Public Law 94-142 are the expansion of public education for handicapped children and the end to the social and academic segregation of such children in public schools. Both goals were thought essential to guaranteeing equal educational opportunity for all handicapped children.

Children who are regarded as handicapped usually are classified or labeled according to the specific disability categories shown in Table 1. These categories, which originated, for the most part, with the medical discipline for diagnostic purposes, came into use by school officials who needed a basis for pupil assignments, budgetary accounting, and programming (Brewer & Kakalik, 1979; Goldstein et al., 1975). These kinds of classifications tell us little, however, about the forces that have shaped the development of special education in American public schools and that will have to be overcome if the objectives of Public Law 94-142 are to be realized. The most useful classification for educational purposes would be one based on informal, subjective descriptions by classroom teachers who react to the extra requirements placed on them by children who were proving difficult to teach (cf., ***Beattie*** v. ***Board of Education***, 1919, and ***Watson*** v. ***City of Cambridge***, 1893, cited in Burrello & Sage, 1979). Decisionmaking for the placement of a child in special classes or facilities for the handicapped has been influenced heavily by whether the child disrupted the regular classroom (Johnson, 1976). The motive of teachers and administrators was the maintenance of an orderly, stimulating learning environment for "normal" children. To preserve it, they willingly shifted the burden of responsibility for the minority of disruptive children to the special education system. Moreover, decision making did not usually include the participation of a child's parents; the dominant view was that professional educators were the appropriate decision makers for what was best for each child. Thus it was the professional educators' conceptions of the "normal" child and regular classroom and the needs and power of professional educators in the public school system that shaped the development of special education services.

The perceptions and decisions of regular classroom teachers were not the only forces at work, however. Also influential were the availability of financial and human resources for providing educational services to children with diverse needs and the incentives created by the different states' methods for reimbursing the extra costs incurred by local schools in educating handicapped children. Fundamental change of the sort envisioned by Public Law 94-142 required more resources and the creation of incentives for these resources to be used to educate handicapped children in the "least restrictive environment," that is, in the same classrooms as "normal" children whenever possible. The heart of the matter, however, is the need for changes in the perceptions of, expectations for, and beliefs of public school personnel—regular teachers, special teachers, school psychologists, and administrators—about what should happen to handicapped children. The Act was designed to promote both kinds of changes.

My purpose here is to assess the extent to which the system of American public education seems to be moving in the direction envisioned by the Act; that is, in the direction of increasing both educational opportunities for handicapped children and the extent to which these opportunities are

Table 1

Incidence of Handicapped Children and the Number Receiving Educational Services for Selected Years 1875-1980

		Total	Visually Handicapped	Aurally Handicapped	Speech Impaired	Crippled/ Health Problems	Emotionally/ Socially Maladjusted	Mentally Retarded
1875[1]	Served		2,054	5,087			20,353	1,372
	Incidence							
1884[2]	Served		2,377	7,295				3,010
	Incidence							
1889[3]	Served		3,215	8,304				5,360
	Incidence							
1904[4]	Served		4,236	12,267			35,134	15,595
	Incidence							
1918[5]	Served		5,386	14,442			63,762	55,084
	Incidence							
1930[6]	Served[a]		5,000	3,901	52,212	41,296	9,040	55,154[b]
	Incidence		50,000	500,000	1 mil.	6.1 mil.	750,000	500,000
1939-40[7]	Served		14,745	28,151	126,146	53,075	39,586	120,222
	Incidence							
1947-48[8]	Served		13,511	27,205	182,344	50,222	38,085	108,741
	Incidence	4 mil.[9]				500,000[10]		
1957-58	Served[11]	975,972	18,434	33,993	489,644	52,416	65,620	251,594
	Incidence[12]	5.2 mil.	38,900	240,200	1,462,400	835,600	835,600	961,000
1966[13]	Served	2,106,100	23,300	51,330	989,500	69,400	87,900	540,100
	Incidence	6 mil.	50,000	301,000	1,757,000	754,000	1 mil.	1,055,821
1972[14]	Served	2,857,551	30,630	79,539	1,360,203	182,636*	156,486	944,909
	Incidence	4,606,591	45,905	264,055	1,606,684	229,526*	918,105	1,180,294
1977-78[15]	Served	3,777,106	35,688	87,144	1,226,957	224,234	288,626	738,509
	Incidence	6,158,056			1,796,095		1,026,340	
1980-81	Served	3.9 mil.	23,670	55,681	1,166,706	142,851	312,632	
	Incidence	6.2 mil.						

For notes see following page.

[a] excludes private schools

[b] includes cities over 10,000 population only

* orthopedic impairments only

[1] Report of the Commissioner of Education (RCE), 1876, CX-CXXI.

[2] RCE, 1886, CXXXVI-CXLVI/

[3] RCE, 1889-1900, 1632-1662.

[4] RCE, 1908, 1166-1192.

[5] Biennial Survey of Education (BSE), 1916-18, 647-749.

[6] BSE, 1928-30, 400-401.

[7] BSE, 1947.

[8] BSE, 1952-54.

[9] BSE, 1946-48, Ch. 5, 2.

[10] U.S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 5, 1948, Romaine Mackie, *Crippled Children in School.*

[11] Mackie, R. Special education in the U.S.: Statistics, 1948-1966. N.Y.: Columbia University, 1969, 36.

[12] BSE, 1956-58, Ch. 5, 3.

[13] Mackie, R. Ibid., 36.

[14] Wilken, W. State aid for special education: Who benefits? Washington, D.C.: HEW, 1977, p. 1-53.

[15] Odden, A., & McGuire, C.K. *Financing Educational Services for Special Populations: The State and Federal Roles.* Denver: Education Comm. of the States, 1980, 161, 163.

provided in regular classrooms. Are the types of children represented by the opening anecdotes likely to receive a better education in the future than they received in the recent past? Because the Act has been in effect for such a short time and results in any event are hard to measure, few systematic evaluative data exist, and none is concerned with educational outcomes. In the absence of these kinds of data, I identify those forces that historically have shaped the creation of educational opportunities for handicapped children, analyze the changes in these forces that might be expected to result from enactment of Public Law 94-142, then examine the record of implementation to see if changes in desired directions seem to be occurring. Because the national elections of 1980 have changed the environment for federal social legislation, I conclude with speculations on future prospects for the system of educating handicapped children.

EDUCATING HANDICAPPED CHILDREN BEFORE 1975

Educational opportunities for handicapped children were developed by specialists largely as segregated, categorical services for students "whose exceptional conditions were obvious and whose needs for extraordinary instructional approaches and/or physical facilities were undeniable" (Burrello & Sage, 1979, p. 13). But, as Sarason and Doris (1979) reminded us, "When we endeavor to make a change in our schools, we fail to recognize that the *structure* of the schools was developed in relation to earlier societal problems, and that these structural characteristics will be effective obstacles to our efforts at change" (p. 156). Two kinds of structural characteristics—those relating to the service delivery system and those relating to the financing of services—have shaped educational opportunities for handicapped children and produced the inertia in the system that existed in 1975.

The Delivery of Special Education Services

Whatever the shortcomings of twentieth century approaches to educating handicapped children and youth, they are a major improvement over earlier times when deaf, dumb, blind, insane, and "feeble minded" persons were stigmatized, abused, banished, or put to death out of fear or superstition (Gearheart, 1980; Hewett, 1974). Recoiling from such practices, European and American reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries began to experiment with humane care and education or training for young people who were deaf, dumb, blind, or "feeble minded." These private experiments, mainly in asylums or other residential institutions, were the basis for public policies on behalf of handicapped or other dependent children that began to emerge in the early decades of the last century (Lynn, 1980). The ideas of reformers who were anxious to improve the care of dependent groups coincided with the interests of local and state officials who were anxious to ease the tax and administrative burdens of providing for their needs. The result was the steady, if haphazard, creation of a state-supported system of institutions to segregate, control, and care for both dependent adults and children. Though the quality and adequacy of such institutions varied greatly from state to state and from one to another, a "separate residential facility, serving both children and adults and under the direction of a physician, was the general rule" by the beginning of the twentieth century (Gearheart, 1980, p. 8). Along the way, however, the beneficent purposes of the reformers gave way to the practical concerns of local and institutional officials. Segregation and protection of handicapped and otherwise dependent persons at low budgetary costs were the prevailing values.

The near-exclusive reliance on residential institutions for dependent children began to erode late in the nineteenth century because of a complex amalgam of scientific, cultural, political, and economic changes that increased the problems of meeting handicapped persons' needs and enriched the prospects for controversy in the search for solutions. The growing popularity of intelligence tests, for example, facilitated identification of children with low intelligence and the discovery of other handicapping conditions, but it also gave impetus to the categorization of children in a way that furthered tendencies to segregate and label them. At the same time, the growth of a secular public school system introduced to all children class-graded instruction, group teaching, and compulsory attendance. A new group of mediators—professional educators—became influential in determining the educational prospects for children.

With the rapid pace of industrialization and urbanization, during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and with the influx of immigrants, the public schools—that is, professional educators—assumed the role of socializing children, shaping their values, and preparing them for citizenship, activities that reached their full effect in the early decades of this century. These developments fed the idea of the "normal" or regular classroom and normal progress or achievement toward the world of work, citizenship, and social responsibility. What was not "normal" was regarded as abnormal (or special or, euphemistically, exceptional), requiring special treatment, usually in ungraded remedial or correctional classrooms. With the growth of the scientific basis for the identification and treatment of exceptional children, placement and intervention became more sophisticated. It also became more pernicious.

> [T]heories of heredity [of the ability to achieve] joined with the developing sciences of psychometrics and the social theories of social Darwinism to foster the development of the eugenics movement, racism, restrictions on immigration, and agitation for the institutionalization and sterilization of the retarded (Sarason & Doris, 1979, p. 139).

Special education was a useful vehicle for selecting out those children who according to prejudiced views, should be isolated from the society of "normal" children.

The basic method of selection and placement, however, became teachers' identifications of burdensome children who, for any of several reasons, failed to meet teachers' role expectations and disrupted the "normal" process of education. Special classes in the public schools became common around the turn of the century. (The National Education Association added a Department of Special Education in 1902.) As school became the universal experience for all children, and professional educators, physicians, and psychiatrists acquired more experience in understanding and treating children with handicaps, special classes and special educators became part of the public school system.

Financing Special Education

Of necessity, the financing of special education has been prone to the same problems as the financing of regular education: local school districts differ widely in the capacity to generate necessary revenues. Dealing with wealth-based disparities in the provision of educational opportunities has been as much a problem for special education as it has been for all elementary and secondary education. Unique problems in financing special education arose, however, because it was more costly than regular education. Per pupil costs of education in a segregated special class might be two to three times as high as regular per pupil costs were (Rossmiller et al., 1970). Although the primary financial responsibility was expected to lie with the local school district, the burden of excess costs was such that contributions from states and the federal government became necessary. Cost variation, moreover, was a function of the method of service delivery, which varied greatly by district as well as disability category (Burrello & Sage, 1979). Thus the problem of the equitable reimbursement of local districts by other levels of government was complex; no simple formula worked well.

The States' Role. Because meeting the needs of handicapped children was costly, the resources of local school districts were increasingly strained as the demands for special education grew. Thus, states began reimbursing local schools for some costs of establishing and maintaining programs and services for handicapped children (see Table 2). With state assistance, local school systems steadily expanded the provision of some kind of opportunity for those handicapped children who could adapt to school environments. Parent advocates and the growing community of special educators maintained pressure on legislators to increase their commitment to handicapped persons. By 1975, all but two states had enacted some kind of mandatory legislation for the education of all eligible handicapped children. At the same time, states provided more than half the revenues allocated to the education of such children (Brewer & Kakalik, 1979).

States used a variety of financing mechanisms to assist local school districts with the budgetary costs of special education (Bernstein et al., 1976; McClure, 1975; Thomas, 1973). Virtually all were based on categories; that is, the states reimbursed costs that were specifically associated with the categories of handicaps which were eligible for special education. Most categorical approaches reinforced tendencies for handicapped children to be segregated and labeled; each type of approach created specific incentives and disincentives for local school officials. In general, all other things being equal, if X were the basis for reimbursement, then school officials would be encouraged by the financial reward to make X as large as possible. The greater

Table 2

Non-Federal, State and Federal Expenditures for Special Education in Selected Years 1930-1980

Year	total expenditures (in $millions)			children served (thousands)	expenditure/child served (in dollars)		
	non-federal	state	federal		non-federal	state	federal
1930	20[a]			166[b]	120[c]		
1939	30[d]			385[e]	80[c]		
1948		15[f]		439[g]		34[c]	
1958	200*[h]			975[g]	205[c]		
1963				1,682[g]			
1966	680[i]			2,106[g]	322[c]		
1969	1,400[i]		29.3[j]	2,240[l]	625[c]		13[c]
1972	2,300[i]	910[l]	37.5[j]	2,810[l]	818[c]	322[h]	13[c]
1975		2,000[l]	88[l]	2,860[l]		550-600[h]	30[c]
1978		2,500[l]	254[l]			663[l]	74[l]
1979		3,300[l]	564[l]	3,900[l]		858[l]	206[l]
1980	5,800*[m]	3,400[l]	804[l]	4,100[l]	1,414[c]	828[l]	210[l]

*estimates
[a] Biennial Survey of Education 1930-32 (residential schools only)
[b] BSE 1928-30
[c] estimates by author
[d] BSE 1939-40 (residential schools only)
[e] BSE 1947
[f] Federal Security Agency Education Bulletin No. 2, 1949, 35.
[g] Mackie, R. *Special Education in the U.S.: Statistics 1948-1966.* New York: Columbia University, 1969, 36.
[h] Wilken, W. *State Aid for Special Education: Who Benefits?* Washington, D.C.: HEW, 1977, 1.
[i] Hobbs, N. *Issues in the Classification of Children.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975, Vol. 2, 442.
[j] Includes funds from P.L. 91-230 and P.L. 93-380.
[k] Kirk, S.A. & Gallagher, J.J. *Educating Exceptional Children* (3rd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979.
[l] Odden, A. & McGuire, C.K. Financing educational services for special populations: The state and federal roles. Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1980.
[m] U.S. HEW, Office of Education. Progress toward a free appropriate public education—Semiannual update on the implementation of P.L. 94-142: The Education for All Handicapped Children Act. Washington, D.C.: HEW, 1979, 4.

the rate of reimbursement, the stronger the encouragement. Many different definitions of X came into use, each with different consequences.

All other things being equal, for example, reimbursing school districts for designated instructional units in which children spend at least a minimum amount of their time encourages the creation of such units and assignment of children and teachers to them. At the same time, this formula discourages supports for handicapped children in regular classrooms. Depending on the formula, large classes or inappropriate placements can be encouraged if reimbursement varies by type of disability.

Weighted, cost-based reimbursements encourage the creation of programs and subsidized costs; but the weighting may distort labeling, placements, and assignment of teachers and facilities when officials seek a pupil-program mix that maximizes revenues. So-called straight-sum reimbursements for each handicapped child encourages labeling in a reimbursable category without necessarily increasing instructional services for the child; revenues are received for enrolling such a child, not for serving her or him. Segregation in a special unit is not required so mainstreaming is more likely to occur.

Reimbursement for the costs of special education personnel encourages the hiring of specialists without necessarily increasing the number of children served. Personnel subsidization has a lower influence on labeling than many other formulas, however, because reimbursement does not depend on it. When a percentage of actual special education costs is reimbursed, the practice encourages the incurring of such costs and the loading of regular school obligations into the special education account where expenditures eligible for reimbursement are encouraged. Such a formula obviously does not equalize educational outlays among different school districts. Differential per pupil reimbursement by handicap category encourages the provision of services for the range of reimbursable handicaps but also encourages arbitrary labeling to maximize revenues.

An excess cost reimbursement scheme avoids many of these difficulties. (Excess costs is the amount by which the cost of educating exceptional children exceeds the cost of educating all other children.) Full reimbursement by the state of all excess costs encourages local officials to maximize revenues by making pupil assignments without distortion (although abuses are possible through the manipulation of cost accounts). Adequate and detailed accounting by school districts is particularly necessary, however, if the state is to maintain meaningful budgetary control. Reimbursement for noninstructional services and capital outlays encourages such expenditures and risks over investment, simply because that is how additional revenues are obtained.

States also differed in other ways (Abeson, 1976), for example, in the specific handicaps defined as eligible for reimbursement. Some states excluded profoundly retarded, emotionally handicapped, or all but mentally retarded pupils (Abeson, 1976). A majority of states, moreover, did not have laws relating to procedural due process, placement in least restrictive environment, or nondiscriminatory evaluation; and few required individualized programs.

If labeling were highly reliable, the technologies for serving handicapped children and their costs well-specified, and school districts equally competent in administering special education programs, then the tendency to mislabel or misclassify children might not be so great. However, given the subjectivity in classification, the structure of financial incentives greatly affected how children are classified and served. School districts with minimal resources tended to go "bounty hunting" to maximize the revenues that are made available through state-aid formulas. As a result, children with mild or difficult-to-identify handicapping conditions, as well as minorities and others who were likely to be stereotyped, are especially vulnerable to misclassification in resource-scarce environments.

Educational opportunities often vary greatly from handicapped child to handicapped child, teacher to teacher, school to school, and state to state as the pattern of financial incentives interacts with the structure and competence of service delivery; outcomes are highly localized.

The Federal Role. With the emergence of the federal social welfare policy during the Depression of the 1930s and complementary policies since World War II, the federal government inevitably was drawn into the role of assisting the education of handicapped young people. Explicit federal policy began with the passage in 1958 of Public Law 85-926, which authorized funds to train college instructors who, in turn, would train teachers of the mentally retarded (and, in accordance with later amendment, the deaf). The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, Public Law 88-164, amended the 1958 Act to authorize the training of professional personnel to serve young people with other major handicapping conditions, and it authorized research and demonstration projects in the education of handicapped children. These programs affected service delivery indirectly by increasing available trained personnel and knowledge about their effective use.

More direct incentives were created by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. Although not targeted on the handicapped (that ESEA Title I funds properly could be used for handicapped children was initially questioned), this Act expanded the resources available for the special education of poor children, and in many localities handicapped children were included. An amendment to Title I broadened the term "educationally deprived" to include handicapped children in state schools or residential institutions. A more important change occurred in 1967 when Congress passed the Education of the Handicapped Act (EHA), which added Title VI to the ESEA. Part B of the Act authorized grants to the states to support the education of handicapped children through initiation, expansion, or improvement of programs at the pre-school, elementary school, and secondary school levels. The Act also created the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped in the Office of Education (Department of Health, Education and Welfare), which, in 1980, became the Office of Special Education in the U.S. Department of Education.

The federal role was minimal, however. The availability of federal funds under EHA encouraged the creation and expansion of special education in the public schools. Funds were disbursed through demonstration grants apportioned in accordance with the school-age population in each state; there was no matching requirement. By 1975, approximately 15 percent of the revenue allocated to special education came from this and other federal sources although the state-to-state variation was from 3-44 percent (Brewer & Kakalik, 1979; see pp. 341-364 for a survey of all federal programs providing educational benefits to handicapped children). Neither the amount nor manner of disbursement had any specific leverage on the availability and character of educational opportunities for handicapped children. These opportunities reflected the decisions of school districts and state legislatures and the beliefs and preferences of professional educators.

By the early 1970s, then, a special education system had evolved within the public school system and was working generally as follows:[3] Pre-school children who were identified at birth or in infancy by parents or physicians as handicapped and in need of special education services might be kept at home, placed in specialized institutions (if the family had adequate financial means), sent to private schools, or enrolled in public schools in the hope that they would be placed in appropriate programs. The identification of a great many other children in need of special education services did not occur at birth or in infancy, however. Most children who are mildly mentally retarded, for example, are not diagnosed until after they start school (Sarason & Doris, 1979). Functional learning disabilities or emotional or psychological problems usually are first detected by school personnel. And in some children learning difficulties actually are created by the schools.

The process of evaluation, labeling, and placement occurred in a variety of ways: routine testing, observation of behavior in classrooms by teachers, and recognition of problems by school psychologists (Mercer, 1979; Sarason & Doris, 1979). Children who were identified as needing special education services were then placed in special classrooms if they were available. Availability and adequacy of personnel and facilities varied widely, however. Many children who might have benefited from such services were maintained in regular classrooms because special education was unavailable or of such poor quality that sensitive teachers avoided sending all but the most disruptive or unlikable children there. Sarason and Doris (1979) observed the following:

> [The] fact is that most handicapped pupils have always been mainstreamed in the public schools. In whatever ways school may have defined a handicapped child there were never enough classes in the schools to accommodate all the children so defined. . . . [T]he number of children in [special] classes has always been a very small percent of those considered to have a handicap (p. 317).

The identification, evaluation, placement, and monitoring of these children often reflected the stereotypes held by teachers and evaluation personnel for race, sex, test scores, social class, ethnic background, and even physical attractiveness. Blacks and Hispanics (in earlier times, immigrants), children with low test scores, children from backgrounds of low socioeconomic status, and boys often were overrepresented in remedial or special classrooms (Children's Defense Fund, 1974; *Dianne* v. *State Board of Education*, 1970; *Larry P.* v. *Riles*, 1972; Mercer, 1972). Moreover, negative labeling often produced negative expectations for these children: and once in special placements they tended to remain there, seldom returning to regular classrooms. Their educational development was often minimal, and the likelihood was high that they would leave school to become dependent adults.

These processes of identification, evaluation, placement, and monitoring tended to be intensely frustrating to worried, frightened, or poorly informed parents. Teachers and special education personnel too often discouraged parental involvement in decisions affecting their children. Special educators were described as "long accustomed to regarding parents as potential sources of children's problems" (Kelly, 1973, pp. 357-358) and opposed to parental participation in decisions on the children's academic-remedial programs. Professionals often blamed inquiring or frustrated parents for not accepting an inevitable situation or for exacerbating their children's problems, often suggesting counseling for parents who had difficulty coping or dealing with their handicapped children. Many parents, in turn, became openly angry at the indifference or hostility of the professionals with whom they were forced to deal.

School culture, thus, was dominated by education professionals who, by and large, viewed the mission of schools as educating "normal" children in the educational, social, and economic mainstream. Their motives in identifying and placing children were, typically, to maintain an orderly learning environment for "normal" children; if necessary, they removed disruptive children from the regular classrooms. Their decisions were based on their beliefs about their roles and the role of the school; their beliefs about the causes of deviant behavior and what ought to happen to such children; their patience, skill, and sensitivity in dealing with youngsters who required more than normal attention; and their knowledge of special therapeutic techniques that might help the children. Many teachers were fearful and lacking in confidence when it came to making decisions about such children and acted to avoid conflict or confrontation. They were further influenced by the power relations in the local educational situation: the influence of the principal, school board, town officials, or active parents.

As state aid to cover the costs of educating handicapped children increased in importance, teachers and administrators also were influenced by two resource-allocation incentives: (a) to maximize the total resources used in the teaching of "normal" children and (b) to maximize the availability of resources from external sources for special education. Both incentives encouraged the referral of difficult-to-teach children out of regular classrooms and into special classrooms or schools.[4] In the absence of generous subsidies from the state, teachers were often unsympathetic to or actively resentful of the costs of hiring school psychologists or the incurring of other costs that seemed at variance with the mission of educating "normal" children.

Special education teachers and school psychologists were distinctly marginal to the regular mission of schools. Responsible for schools' problem children, they were competitors for scarce resources. Their attempts to increase teachers' awareness of how to deal with such children sometimes were interpreted as telling teachers how to do their jobs (Milofsky, 1976). "It is difficult for special personnel to prevent the regular system from referring only children it cannot or will not teach" (Kirp, Buss, & Kuriloff, 1974, p. 51). The minority status of special education personnel often produced a low sense of mission, reinforced by the feeling that they had but a weak technology to deal with their problems. Nevertheless, they tenaciously defended their positions in the schools, the more politically astute and expert of them achieving a respected minority status. Their ambivalence and frustration showed in their simultaneous complaints that the special class was overused as a depository for difficult-to-teach children and that placements in regular classrooms did not adequately safeguard children's interests.

Pressures for Change

By the early 1970s, external pressures to change this system had reached the point at which a decisive move was taken to break the grip of the traditional educational establishment. Significantly, the momentum was provided primarily by parents. The underlying problem was that too many children seemed to be receiving no services, the wrong services, or inadequate services (Brewer & Kakalik, 1979). The problem was described in 1971 as follows:

> In spite of the best intentions of Federal, state, and local officials, as well as grass roots citizen groups . . . there remain too many children who are excluded or exempted or suspended from public schools; there remain too many children who are institutionalized but do not require institutionalization; there remain too many children who are denied both the school and the clinic. . . (Blatt, 1972, p. 537).

More specifically,

> The severely handicapped generally go without education, enrollment in programs for the mildly handicapped continually climbs, and Blacks and other minorities continue to be considered for and classified as handicapped in disproportionate numbers. There is little evidence of improvement in the syndrome of misclassification, ineffective programs for those classified, and relative irreversibility of the classification decision (Kirp et al., 1974, p. 45).

Some experts argued that the treatment certain children received in schools actually created their problems.[5]

> To the extent that we have ignored cultural differences, differences in patterns and tempers of learning, social and affective differences in the temperaments of children, to the extent that we have set goals of achievement for individual children that are either unrealistically high or low, we have ensured the development of that educationally disordered child, with cognitive and social handicaps, that we relegate to the special classroom (Sarason & Doris, 1979, p. 155).

The seeds of dissatisfaction fell on the fertile soil of change created by the civil rights movement and its subsidiary causes—equal educational opportunity, children's rights, right to treatment, citizen participation, consumers' rights, and the like—and by the antiestablishment, antiprofessional temper of the times. The source of the most specific and proximate pressure was a series of state and lower federal court rulings issued in suits brought by parents and their advocates (Turnbull, 1978). In general, these rulings established that children and their parents were entitled to due process—notice and a hearing—before the children could be so labeled that they might be stigmatized or excluded from schools, and that the children could not be deprived of educational benefits that were available to other children (Burrello & Sage, 1979). The effect was to force or encourage public schools to increase the availability of special education services. Legislatures responded with statutes requiring schools to educate handicapped children and they provided financial assistance. "The pervasive themes in litigation activity [were] in many cases . . . translated quickly and directly into legislation within and across state lines" (*Harvard Law Review*, 1979, p. 1105).

Faced with the costs of complying with these court orders, governors and state chief school officers appealed to Congress. The passage of such statutes requiring appropriate education for handicapped children in West Virginia, for example, became a cause for action by U.S. Senator Jennings Randolph (D-W.Va.) who, at the time, was Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Handicapped of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The result was enactment of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act.

THE GOALS AND IMPLICATIONS OF PUBLIC LAW 94-142

The Education for All Handicapped Children Act, Public Law 94-142, was signed into law by President Gerald R. Ford on November 29, 1975[6] and became effective October 1, 1977. (The implementing regulations were published in the *Federal Register* on August 23, 1977.) Like any path-breaking social legislation, the effort to enact Public Law 94-142 melded diverse, often conflicting concerns and motives that were at once noble and cynical. Legislators, state and local officials, school people, the special education community, and parents and their advocates had overlapping but distinct interests.

Goals

Judging by the legislative history, the goals of the individual congressmen and senators who voted for the new law were pragmatic and concrete. They wanted to provide financial assistance to states that were under pressure to expand special education opportunities. The priorities for this expansion were (a) to serve those children not already being served and (b) to increase the adequacy of existing services. At the same time, realizing the costs of an open-ended entitlement, legislators were anxious to avoid an unlimited claim on the federal treasury. They also were anxious to avoid interfering in the state and local educational decision making, especially because questions of what constituted an appropriate education for individuals with different handicaps were unanswerable (Kirp et al., 1974).

The major debate in Congress was over the authorization level. Members of both parties in both houses pointed out repeatedly that authorizations and appropriations never would be high enough to satisfy the bill's chief proponents and that to pretend otherwise would be hypocrisy. Preferring a partial loaf to none, or fearing the criticism that voting against the handicapped would bring, overwhelming majorities passed a bill with scaled-down authorizations.[7] Some legislators were astute enough to recognize the potential flaws in the programmatic structure being built. Note was taken, for example, that the 12 percent cap on the number of students who could be classified as handicapped was an invitation to misclassify children to turn the 12 percent ceiling into a floor. The "delivery system," however, was subject to little debate.

The delivery system was the prime interest of parents and their advocates; for example, National Association for Retarded Citizens; Association for Children with Learning Disabilities; United Cerebral Palsy Association; and National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults. Both to call attention to its potentially dramatic implications and, no doubt, to put pressure on agencies that would execute the Act, exaggerated claims were made for what the bill would guarantee. (One author noted that "if advocacy groups and professional associations play their proper roles, perhaps the full potential of the law may be realized"; Gearheart, 1980, p. 43). They saw enactment of Public Law 94-142 as a revolution—potentially the "greatest single event of the century in the history of education of the handicapped"—or, more accurately, as the capstone of a revolution that had been in the making for nearly a decade in the schools, courts, state legislatures, and Congress.

On a philosophical level, they saw the Act as creating a new philosophy of education, substituting an educational system that was infused with love and common sense for a system that segregated abnormal from normal children. The new law would mandate schools to integrate handicapped children into the mainstream. In the process, the values of teachers, "normal" children, and administrators would be changed to the acceptance of all children as "normal" but different, and each handicapped child would have an individualized, sensibly designed experience in school that permitted access to the kinds of satisfaction other children received from education. Sarason and Doris (1979) observed,

> Handicapped and nonhandicapped students are human beings, not different species, and their basic makeup in no way justifies educational practices that assume that the needs they have for social intercourse, personal growth and expression, and a sense of mastery, are so different that one must apply different theories of human behavior to the two groups (p. 391).

School people, including special education personnel, were more ambivalent and, frequently, the chief opponents of change. Sarason and Doris (1978) noted,

> Change in societal attitudes and social policy was spearheaded by a dedicated minority relying on political pressure and the courts; but at every step of the way, this minority encountered opposition, especially from personnel in schools, institutions, and state agencies who saw how drastic the proposed changes would be for them (p. 7).

Yet, for a reformed system to emerge, extensive changes in school-system performance were required. Perhaps the most extensive change was needed in the attitudes and behavior of school personnel, especially classroom teachers. Rather than regarding children with functional and physical disorders as burdens, teachers henceforth needed to be receptive to instructing children with special needs in their classrooms. Rather than shunting difficult children off to school psychologists, teachers had to become knowledgeable about the difficulties and to shed the stereotypes that contributed to discriminatory or invalid labeling and placement. Rather than viewing special educators as rivals in expertise and competitors for resources, teachers had to become willing to work with special education personnel, and to regard them as partners. Shedding disdain for parents, teachers had to become responsive to parental concerns and cognizant of their rights and the rights of children. The professional obligation of teachers was to create a normal classroom environment and positive expectations for all children.

The special education community had to alter its aloof attitudes toward both classroom teachers and parents and to adopt attitudes that would facilitate the appropriate placement of children in least restrictive environments. The members also had to play a central role in defining and creating the continuum of educational environments that would constitute the options available to parents and teachers.

All school personnel were called upon to become more approachable to parents and specialists as well as to reach out more millingly and often to parents, community institutions, and specialists.

Finally, states and local school districts were expected to increase the level of resources that were allocated to special education. The expansion and improvement of educational opportunities for handicapped children and youth required higher appropriations and greater budgetary outlays for supports for teachers in regular classrooms.

Levers for Change

Public Law 94-142 created new rules and incentives to bring about the organizational and behavioral changes described. Easily the most important features of the Act were its articulation of a handicapped child's *right* to a free, appropriate education in the least restrictive environment, and of procedural due process in decisions on classification and placement so that parents could be in a position to hold professional educators accountable. (The contrast between the moral-humane basis for policy-making characteristic of enactments before the mid-1960s and the legal-constitutional basis for legislation thereafter is a significant reflection of the shifting role of the courts in general; Sarason & Doris, 1978.) States were required, as a condition for receiving federal funds, to establish procedures insuring that, to the maximum extent appropriate, handicapped children are educated in "regular classes" with children who are not handicapped (Abeson, Bolick, & Hass, 1975). An appropriate education was defined in procedural, not substantive terms: "special education and related services which . . . are provided in conformity with [an] individualized education program."

The Act did not go so far as to create an outright entitlement to federal funds sufficient to guarantee a free appropriate public education, however. Participation in the Act was not mandatory. The availability of financial assistance authorized by the Act constituted an incentive, not a directive, to participate. The incentive was strengthened by the fact that the authorization was permanent. However, Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973 forbids discrimination against handicapped persons in the administration of programs, such as public elementary and secondary education, which receive federal financial assistance; states choosing not to participate in Public Law 94-142 might find all federal education assistance in jeopardy.[8] (Only New Mexico, so far, has failed to participate, and litigation has been initiated.) Thus an entitlement was all but created.

The lawyer's view of Public Law 94-142 was that changing the legal framework for decision making would shift individual and organizational incentives sufficiently to bring about the desired change in behavior and, therefore, in educational opportunities for handicapped children and youth.

> [The] child, the family, and the schools . . . will benefit from adherence to well-developed educational practices and the elements of due process. When appropriate decisions about a child's education are made in a forthright manner, these parties will be in harmony. . . (Abeson et al., 1975, p. 71).

The nature of these "well-developed practices" was not to be left to chance, however. "The fact is that the contents of the law make sense only if one assumes that they reflect the opposition of school personnel to the intent of the law and the need to help school personnel to adjust to conditions that are not of their making or desires" (Sarason & Doris, 1978, p. 15). The objective of a number of the Act's provisions was to alter educational practice in the public schools by deliberately restricting and directing the behavior of school officials. The provisions include the following:

- A free, appropriate education must be provided to each handicapped child.
- An individual education plan (IEP) must be prepared for each handicapped student. These plans must have the content prescribed by the statute and regulations.
- Education must be provided in the least restrictive environment, that is, in regular classrooms, if feasible.
- Evaluations must be conducted by multidisciplinary teams.
- Parents must participate in decision making regarding their children's education; for example, in the preparation of the IEP.

- School officials must provide parents with prior notice of evaluations and proposed changes in educational placements and the opportunity for impartial hearings, examinations or records, and independent evaluations of the children's needs.

Other provisions are related to the objective of insuring the "appropriateness" of a handicapped child's education. These include the identification of handicapping conditions,[9] the definition of handicapping conditions and requirements for identification and evaluation (including the proscription of discriminatory methods of testing), and specification of the related services which may be made available to the child. The system envisioned by the Act was depicted by Gearheart (1980, pp. 56-57); his chart is reproduced in Figure 1.

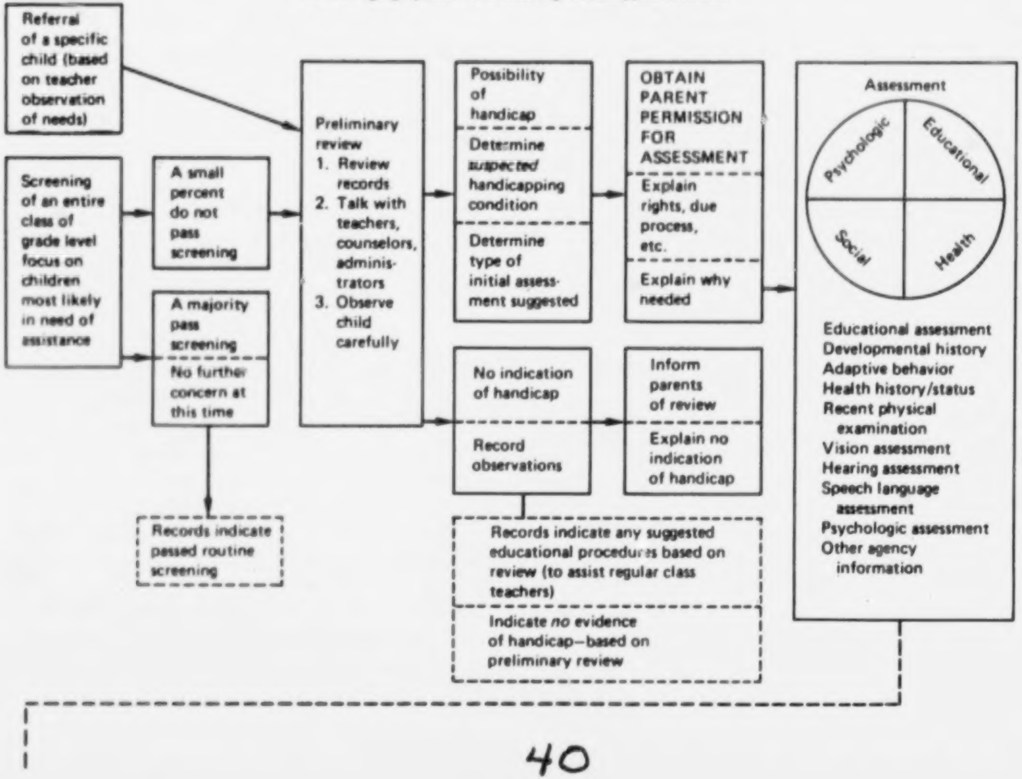
The reimbursement formula, along with the other provisions related to services, is designed to expand services. The maximum amount of the grant to which a state is entitled is equal to the number of handicapped children aged 3-21 in the state who are receiving special education and related services, multiplied by a percentage (scheduled to reach 40%) of the average per pupil expenditure in public elementary and secondary schools in the United States, as long as the number of handicapped children served does not exceed 12 percent of the state's school-age population.[10] Seventy-five percent of the grant is to be allocated to local education agencies in proportion to the number of the state's handicapped children they serve. However, the local educational agency may use these funds only for the excess costs of providing special education and related services for handicapped children, as long as it is spending at least a minimum average amount per handicapped child computed in accordance with a formula contained in the regulations (i.e., if the district does not spend at least this minimum on educating handicapped children, it is not entitled to funds under the Act). This formula guarantees that the district will not spend less of its own funds than it did before the Act took effect. A district receiving a grant in accordance with these provisions may use the funds for any item of expenditure except capital outlays and debt service; there are no categorical restrictions on how the district may use the funds but the funds cannot supplant state and local funds. Districts do not have to allocate funds in proportion to the local incidence of handicapping conditions.

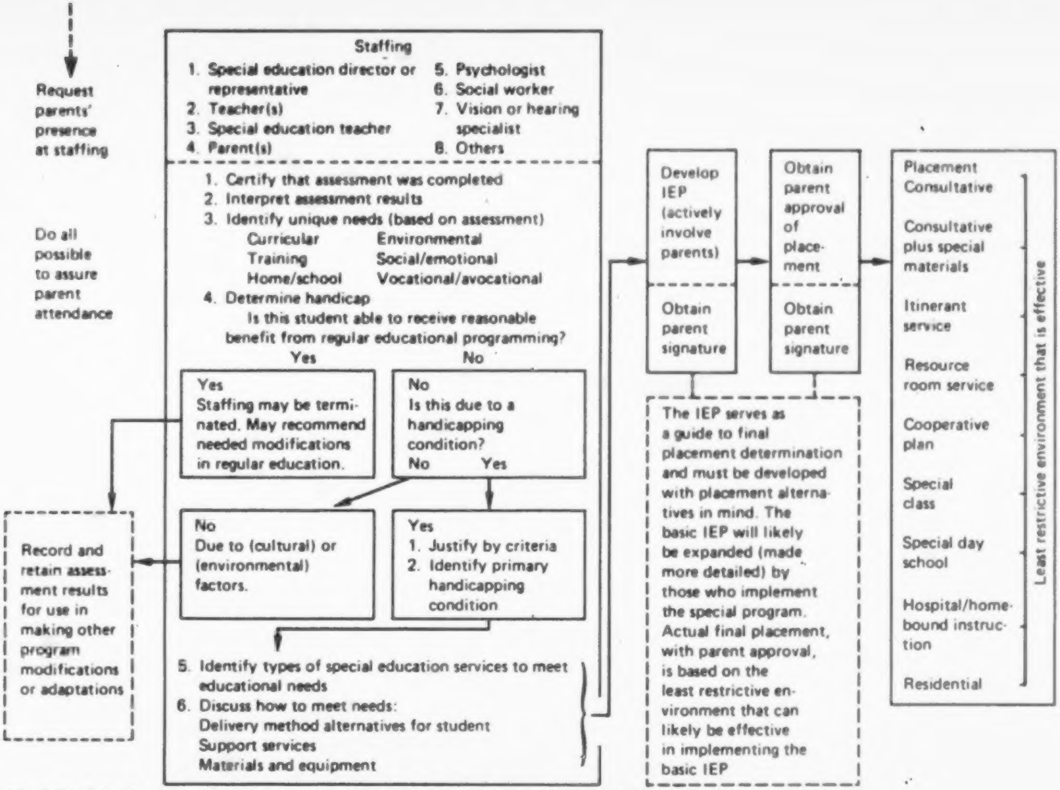
The Act's design is clearly related to its fundamental goals:

- It reinforces changes already underway in the legal framework of special education that recognize and enforce the rights of children and their parents.
- The financial aid formula is an incentive for states to serve larger numbers of handicapped children with special programs and support. Funds are available under the Act only for children who are enrolled (although not necessarily served) in public school and only for costs that exceed the per pupil average expenditure in the local school district.
- The Act fundamentally alters decision-making processes and power relations between and among parents, regular teachers, and special

Figure 1

The Emerging System for Educating Handicapped Children


Referral of a specific child (based on teacher observation of needs)
Screening of an entire class of grade level focus on children most likely in need of assistance
A small percent do not pass screening
A majority pass screening
No further concern at this time
Records indicate passed routine screening
Preliminary review
1. Review records
2. Talk with teachers, counselors, administrators
3. Observe child carefully
Possibility of handicap
Determine *suspected* handicapping condition
Determine type of initial assessment suggested
No indication of handicap
Record observations
Records indicate any suggested educational procedures based on review (to assist regular class teachers)
Indicate *no* evidence of handicap—based on preliminary review
OBTAIN PARENT PERMISSION FOR ASSESSMENT
Explain rights, due process, etc.
Explain why needed
Inform parents of review
Explain no indication of handicap
Assessment
Psychologic
Educational
Social
Health
Educational assessment
Developmental history
Adaptive behavior
Health history/status
Recent physical examination
Vision assessment
Hearing assessment
Speech language assessment
Psychologic assessment
Other agency information


Request parents' presence at staffing
Do all possible to assure parent attendance
Staffing
1. Special education director or representative
2. Teacher(s)
3. Special education teacher
4. Parent(s)
5. Psychologist
6. Social worker
7. Vision or hearing specialist
8. Others
1. Certify that assessment was completed
2. Interpret assessment results
3. Identify unique needs (based on assessment)
Curricular
Training
Home/school
Environmental
Social/emotional
Vocational/avocational
4. Determine handicap
Is this student able to receive reasonable benefit from regular educational programming?
Yes
No
Yes
Staffing may be terminated. May recommend needed modifications in regular education.
No
Is this due to a handicapping condition?
No
Yes
No
Due to (cultural) or (environmental) factors.
Yes
1. Justify by criteria
2. Identify primary handicapping condition
Record and retain assessment results for use in making other program modifications or adaptations
5. Identify types of special education services to meet educational needs
6. Discuss how to meet needs:
Delivery method alternatives for student
Support services
Materials and equipment
Develop IEP (actively involve parents)
Obtain parent signature
Obtain parent approval of placement
Obtain parent signature
The IEP serves as a guide to final placement determination and must be developed with placement alternatives in mind. The basic IEP will likely be expanded (made more detailed) by those who implement the special program. Actual final placement, with parent approval, is based on the least restrictive environment that can likely be effective in implementing the basic IEP
Placement
Consultative
Consultative plus special materials
Itinerant service
Resource room service
Cooperative plan
Special class
Special day school
Hospital/homebound instruction
Residential
Least restrictive environment that is effective

SOURCE: B.R. Gearheart, *Special Education for the '80s*. St. Louis: C.V. Moseby, 1980, Figure 3-1, pp. 56-57. Permission granted.

> education personnel. Quite simply, parents now have the opportunity to exercise greater influence over decisions affecting their children. Teachers no longer can be so arbitrary in expelling students from class or labeling them as retarded.

Like almost any piece of social legislation that has been achieved through compromise, Public Law 94-142 is far from a coherent and complete design for achieving its goals. Moreover, the Act was bound to create problems of many kinds.

1. Congressional critics argued that the Act raised expectations that were unlikely to be fulfilled. Although authorization was permanent, it was not open-ended; no entitlement was created. Funds were to depend on annual appropriations. Moreover, as critics foresaw, the initial appropriations fell far short of authorizations that themselves fell far short of need. The financial incentives to change were hardly overwhelming. State legislatures, also under pressure from Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to insure equal opportunity for handicapped citizens, would be hard-pressed to fill funding gaps. Resource scarcity was bound to create problems. In a larger political sense, given times of resource stringency, the Act inevitably would exacerbate the conflict among groups competing for limited social welfare funds. Resource limitations also could be expected to affect decision making at the level of the individual school and child. Officials struggling to meet the legal requirement of an appropriate education, as it is spelled out in the statute and regulations, without the resources to do so inevitably would take short-cuts, such as assembly-line evaluations, canned "individualized" educational programs, and overreliance on group tests or simple IQ measures for classification. Without adequate support, a handicapped child placed in a regular classroom actually might be worse off; misclassification might continue.

2. By providing states with a financial incentive to serve handicapped children and youth, the Act was strengthening incentives to label children as handicapped to the maximum extent permitted by law, although resource scarcity would create a bias in favor of the less expensive handicaps. Body counts would be important, but not necessarily in the best interests of the children.

3. The financial incentive was classically "input-oriented," that is, reimbursement covered costs incurred, not results or outcomes achieved. This, together with the Act's emphasis on the processes of decision making rather than the nature of the education to be provided, could be expected to have such consequences as emphasis on barrier-free access, personnel, and recognized treatments. Because of the exceedingly "weak" technologies for educating handicapped youngsters and the shortages of talented teachers, counselors, and other support personnel, schools would not be encouraged to incur costs that did not affect educational quality.

4. "Mainstreaming," the central concept underlying Public Law 94-142, had little more theoretical or empirical support than did "deinstitutionalization," though some evidence exists that placement in special classes can have slightly adverse effects on motivation and achievement. It was a value, a philosophy, a "moral triumph," as one writer put it, more than a method

of demonstrable effectiveness for educating handicapped young people. Professional conflicts or doubts about the approach, suppressed in the interest of passing the legislation, could be expected to surface later, when the difficulties of achieving concrete results became evident.

5. The Act did not actually require mainstreaming, only education in the least restrictive environment that was considered appropriate to each handicapped pupil. Severely retarded children, whom schools were typically ill-equipped to serve, might continue to be excluded from meaningful educational opportunities. Specialists in mental retardation argued that the preference of school personnel for educating "normal" children would manifest itself in the mainstreaming of children with the most hopeful prognoses, for example, those with learning disabilities or speech impairments or those who are emotionally disturbed, and continue to relegate retarded children to special, substandard classes (Sarason & Doris, 1978).

6. Experiences in states with similar laws (e.g., Chapter 766 in Massachusetts) may have suggested that the attempt to carry out such a sweeping mandate might generate a backlash from taxpayers who feared the costs and from regular educators who perceived the Act as a threat to their autonomy and roles.

7. By emphasizing procedural safeguards over substantive guidance, the Act begs a crucial question: When can the Act be judged to have achieved its purposes? Given vagueness on this key point, legal scholars could foresee several kinds of problems in carrying out the Act's procedural due process requirements (*Harvard Law Review*, 1979): parental challenges to evaluation methods and results, placement decisions, and the appropriateness of the educational services provided to their children. One author noted,

> The Education for All Handicapped Children Act has set the stage for judges and hearing officers to take an active role in the intimate details of educational decision making while seeking to safeguard the rights of the handicapped [thereby] entrusting courts with the ultimate power to review the appropriateness of individual programs. . . (*Harvard Law Review*, 1979, p. 1127).

Yet, even with aggressive judicial intervention, the result might still be what the Master in the Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Citizens case termed "an array of facades" with little effect on educational outcomes (quoted in Kirp et al., 1974, p. 81).

8. In one view, the root of the problem lay in the preparatory training given teachers. "The opposition to mainstreaming children was long contained in the political-administrative-social structure of departments and schools of education in our colleges and universities" (Sarason & Doris, 1978, p. 9). It is there that they acquire the concepts and credentials that underlie the present educational system. Yet the Act failed to address the need for changes in the education of teachers (Sarason & Doris, 1979).

The Act was a major legislative boost to those people who believed that drastic changes in the values and practices underlying special education were right. The question was whether the boost was strong enough to overcome the inertia of the existing system. Even if moral suasion, judges' decisions, and a few federal dollars could change decision-making processes, moreover, would better outcomes result for handicapped children?

THE NEW LAW IN PRACTICE

The Education for All Handicapped Children Act unquestionably has changed the educational prospects of a great many handicapped children. Whether the goals of the Act's principal advocates have been met is another matter. Because of the Act, the stories of the five representative children with which this paper opened might continue as follows:

> – The alternative school to which *Anne* was referred evaluated her in a screening process required by the new state law on educating handicapped children. She was found to have not only a mild learning disability but a mild hearing loss as well. A program was set up in which she worked at a local store half the day and spent the other half in a small class taught by a learning disability specialist.
>
> – *Debby's* father became unusually interested in one of the endless string of late-night television announcements about the state's new law for the education of handicapped children. The ad emphasized that all children in the state, regardless of handicap, are entitled to a free education and requested anyone who knew of a handicapped child to call the toll-free number. Although he was skeptical and it was well past midnight, he dialed the number. When he hung up half an hour later, he went into the bedroom and woke his wife. It took another toll-free call to convince her. Early the next morning, they took Debby to the offices of the superintendent of schools.
>
> Although a handful of children with cerebral palsy attended a special class in a nearby school, Debby's evaluation revealed years of academic neglect. Reluctantly, the school admitted that she was not ready for the special class; instead, they agreed to pay for a one-year placement at the United Cerebral Palsy Association center near the county hospital where she would be housed and cared for at no expense to her parents. Although she was lonely at first, Debby showed steady progress during her weekend visits at home. Her family was delighted and anxiously awaited her permanent return home.
>
> – The year after the regulations for Public Law 94-142 were issued, *John* was one of the first students from the TMR pre-school class to undergo a new, extensive evaluation process. Previously classified solely on the basis of a suspected chromosomal aberration, John was scheduled to take several tests, among them the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities. Although he performed as poorly as expected on auditory reception and verbal responses (several years behind his age level), his scores on visual perception and association, motor expression,

and visual closure were all at or above normal. The testing psychologist correctly recognized John's problem as an auditory-verbal disability common for his age. A special program was arranged for John in the school's resource room for the afternoons after his kindergarten class. It was expected that after a year or two John would no longer need extra help.

– *Raymond's* parents had long suspected that the school was the source of their son's trouble. At the suggestion of a close family friend (and an active member of the school committee) they had Raymond evaluated by the school in accordance with the recent law for the education of handicapped children. The school psychologist tested Raymond and these results, combined with the observation of his teacher and the boy's counselor (who knew Raymond's reputation better than he did Raymond), were presented to his parents at an IEP conference. The school recommended that Raymond be kept in his regular classroom and that he, his teacher, and his family receive consultative help from the school psychologist and social worker. Resenting the implication that Raymond's difficulties originated at home, his parents refused to sign the IEP and, on the advice of their friend on the school committee, sought an independent evaluation at a nearby mental health clinic. The specialists there, after administering a battery of tests, concluded that Raymond had "emotional differences which severely affect his learning." The team recommended a residential placement. The school disagreed. After consulting with the district director of pupil personnel services, the issue was brought to a regional mediator. The latter did his best to resolve the dispute through compromise, yet neither side gave ground, forcing a formal appeals hearing before a state department of education hearing officer. Upholding the recommendation of the specialists, the hearing officer ordered the school to pay the $10,000 necessary for Raymond to attend the residential school.

– As a result of a 1970 California court ruling (*Dianne* v. *State Board of Education*, 1970), all minority students thought to be mentally retarded, including *Arthur* were re-evaluated. Arthur was given the standard Stanford-Binet IQ test with one major revision: It was in Spanish. Arthur added close to 40 points to his score and, after a conference with his parents, was transferred to a bilingual school in downtown Los Angeles where he has excelled.

These stories suggest that some children face better prospects since the enactment of Public Law 94-142 and that their stories often have happy endings, but love and common sense have not yet fully supplanted rivalry and conflict in the education of handicapped children.

Behavioral and Organizational Change

"[T]he nation's commitment to implementing the [Education for All

Handicapped Children] Act is impressive, widespread, and genuine," reported Edwin W. Martin (U.S. Department of HEW, 1979b, p. iii), then head of the Bureau of the Education of the Handicapped, less than a year following its implementation on a significant scale. Public school enrollment nationwide fell 3.3 percent from 1975 to 1979, but the enrollment of handicapped children was up by 6.23 percent. State expenditures for special education almost doubled during this period. According to the Department of Education, half the school-age children previously unserved by the school system are being given special education services, and three-fourths of all handicapped children 5-18 years are receiving services (these estimates, however, hardly can be considered accurate). All 50 states now have laws or administrative rules assigning the responsibility for educating all handicapped children to the states. Each state also has initiated, or is in the process of doing so, due process and fair evaluation procedures; 80 percent of these procedures have been adopted since Public Law 94-142 was enacted. By and large, agreements have been reached between the state education agency and the state agencies responsible for related services.

Although substantial early progress has been made in carrying out the provisions of the new law, numerous problems have been reported, some anticipated and some not. The most populous states (e.g., California and New York) seem to have had the greatest difficulties because of the sheer numbers of children who must be served, especially in the mildly handicapped categories. Almost all states, however, reported various problems with redesigning and reorienting their service delivery systems and with raising enough revenues to serve the large numbers of children identified as in need.

A synthesis of reports from the field which details difficulties with meeting the law's requirements follows. However partial, impressionistic, and subjective these observations may be, they strongly suggest the kinds of effects the law is having on educational opportunities for handicapped children. Some of these observations are concerned with the structural characteristics of service delivery whereas others, though often appearing to be delivery system issues, are traceable to resource and financing problems. Weighing these concerns, one must wonder if the overall effect of the law is not the opposite of that intended.

Structural Problems

In order to monitor progress toward full implementation of the Act in the aggregate and in each state, the U.S. Office of Special Education made assumptions about the overall numbers and categories of children who are in need of services. It is assumed, without strong empirical justification, that 12 percent of the school-age children in each state are handicapped: 3.5 percent, speech impaired; 3.0 percent, with learning disabilities; 2.3 percent, mentally retarded; 2.0 percent, emotionally disturbed; 0.5 percent, hard of hearing; and 0.1 percent, with visual handicaps. Experts in many states have argued that 12 percent is an overestimate, that the average reported prevalence is closer to 8 percent (U.S. Department of HEW, 1979b), but the Office of Special Education continues to press for aggregate identifications at the higher levels for fear that lowering them would reduce the pressure for higher appropriations (O'Hara, 1979). The federal agency also issues warnings to states that identify greater than expected numbers in particular categories, such as mental retardation. Although they are stimulating the "child find" and outreach efforts required by the law, the arbitrary, inflexible, and fundamentally political use of quotas that may be too high or improperly apportioned among handicapping conditions also increases the likelihood of misclassification, and pressures states and local school districts to overemphasize labeling. Indeed, the variations in the prevalence rates reported by the states seem to indicate a sharp divergence between official clarifications and reality.

The requirements for conducting multidisciplinary and nondiscriminatory evaluations have increased the number of students who are identified as handicapped, especially those classified as having a learning disability (thus eliminating the 2% ceiling on the number of school-age children who qualify for reimbursement under the provisions of the original Act). More extensive evaluations and reevaluations, in many cases, lead to more appropriate placements; children formerly placed in EMR classes now have a better chance of being identified as having specific learning disabilities. In other cases, however, the necessity to label children in accordance with the Act's categories may frustrate individual educational planning. If mildly handicapped children, for example, are not labeled and "slotted" they are not eligible for specialized service (some states, nevertheless, are doing away with extensive reliance on labeling).

Some classroom teachers have complained that retaining disruptive children in their classrooms distracts them from the instruction of nonhandicapped and nondisruptive children. Some also complain about the decision-making process leading to individual placements, especially about their loss of influence in placement decisions that affect them. Classroom teachers' participation in IEP conferences appears to be low. One study found that only 43 percent bothered to attend IEP conferences (*Exceptional Children*, 1980); another found that 56 percent attended them (Weatherley, 1979). Their participation in these conferences often has been ineffective. "[T]eachers tend to play passive roles; [they] felt inhibited by the principal's presence and thus had little participation" (Weatherley, 1979, p. 97).

Regular teachers also resent the time required by paperwork and the coordination of activities, often at the expense of their leisure and noncontact time. They note the consequent temptations they feel to ignore children's special needs in order to avoid the red tape of the evaluation and placement process. They also are critical of the subtle discrimination against "normal" or gifted children who do not have the rights and privileges associated with IEPs and due process.

Many special education personnel are similarly alienated by the demands of paperwork and procedures and by the difficulty of planning conferences that are convenient for parents as well as teachers. They also complain about the difficulty of gaining the cooperation of regular teachers who control access to the students in classrooms, and about their loss of visibility and special role, which, ironically, makes their status more marginal than before. Furthermore, some special educators have criticized the increased influence of parents. One noted that "parents may desire to take the role of educators," and "parents from rural, poverty-stricken areas, parents with little education and often beset by family breakdown, suffer more confusion than anything else from the call to participate" (Sabatino, 1981, p. 18).

Crucial to the success of the Act was active parental participation which is structured around the IEP. The IEP process has given parents a voice in decision making but it has not entirely overcome the disinclination of many educators to listen to or consult parents. Some studies have reported a high degree of parental satisfaction after IEP conferences, but others have yielded less encouraging results (Goldstein et al., 1980; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Education and Labor, 1979). Parents may be treated as outsiders or they may be patronized (Weatherley, 1979). Timidity or ignorance may prompt parents to defer to the judgment of school professionals. Moreover, parents may not know what to say. Thus, parental participation may be little more than symbolic (Weatherley, 1979), with little constructive interaction occurring. Technical babble may dominate the discussion (Weatherley, 1979); the parent may unknowingly witness the re-enactment of a private meeting of the specialists at which the content of the IEP was worked out. In a survey of over 2,300 parents in 46 states, 52 percent reported that the IEPs were completed before the meeting (U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Education and Labor, 1979). Other studies found that parents were unprepared and misunderstood the decisions made at the conference at least half the time (U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Education and Labor, 1979; Weatherley, 1979). School personnel sometimes have tried to circumvent parental participation in conferences by scheduling them at inconvenient times or with short notice. Completed IEPs may be mailed to parents for their signatures, and parents even have been asked to sign blank IEPs (Government Accounting Office, 1981).

The due process provisions seem to be largely in place. Usually, several informal conferences will precede an actual hearing to try to resolve the issue before the more costly hearing takes place. (SRI International, 1980, has estimated the costs of hearings to range from $1,000 to $10,000.) In some instances, the ease with which parents can take a disputed IEP to a due process hearing has frustrated the intent of the IEP process. In such instances, the due process hearing has become, in effect, the IEP conference. On the other hand, hearing activity may be decreasing rather than increasing (SRI International, 1980). The reasons are unclear but the change may reflect schools' willingness to be more forthcoming in IEP conferences.

By far the issues most frequently decided in due process hearings relate to private school placements and the provision of related services. Ironically, a process designed to encourage the education of handicapped children in regular classrooms may be having the opposite effect in many instances. The majority of placement appeals filed by parents seek a *more* restrictive environment for a particular child. Whereas the IEP conference tends in practice to favor the arguments of school personnel, the appeals process appears to favor determined, relatively affluent, middle-class parents: they seem to win the majority of the cases they initiate. In many respects, the appeals process further intimidates the less well-informed and less aggressive parents whose rights are supposed to be protected by the Act.

A study of the Massachusetts appeals process (in place since September 1974) found that not only is the process under-used by poor, minority, and rural people but, also, that the majority of cases involve "middle and upper class suburban parents of mildly handicapped children seeking more restrictive [private] placements" (Bloom & Garfunkel, 1981, p. 388). Of the 60 cases studied, 78 percent centered on a dispute over public or private placement, and in almost all these cases the parents advocated private placement; they won about half the time. Statewide placements of special education children in private settings has steadily increased since the law took effect. The authors noted that an appropriate educational setting is occasionally not the issue:

> In some of these cases, the hearing officers' decisions have been based on reasons other than the public schools' inability to provide an adequate program. Among these reasons are: inadequacies in the written text of the educational plan; due process procedural violations by the school, expedience of the situation (i.e., the inadvisability of changing a child's placement while the school year is in progress); and the ability of advocates to destroy the credibility of testimony given by school personnel who are inexperienced in adversarial proceedings.
>
> In some cases in which private placements have been ordered, hearing officers clearly indicated that the public schools had the capacity to serve children. For example, in one rather typical case a hearing officer ordered private day school placement due to the inadequacy of the educational plan presented by the school system. In the text of the decision the hearing officer concluded: '[The town's] presentation at the hearing indicated that it does have the capacity to service M. Problems arose because this information was not communicated to the parents before the time necessary to make alternate arrangements had passed' (Bloom & Garfunkel, 1981, pp. 388-389).

Recourse to appeals in order to guarantee delivery of a public service, in some instances has become a mechanism for educating handicapped children in private schools at public expense; there are no data to confirm the extent of this practice, however.

The limited evidence suggests that compliance with the Act's procedural requirements has not yet brought into harmony the various parties who have a stake in those requirements. Many difficulties undoubtedly are transitory. They suggest, however, that achieving change of this scope will not be quick or easy. In the meantime, achievement of the Act's goals is especially vulnerable to resource problems.

Resource Problems

Both regular and special educators complain about the lack of resources to support children in regular or special placements and about too large classes and caseloads, uncompensated demands on their time, and the lack of inservice training opportunities. Unquestionably, resource constraints have affected the character of the service delivery system.

In line with the predictions of worried legislators, actual funding has fallen far short of that required by a full, high-quality service system. The federal contribution to the costs of educating handicapped children has been only a little in excess of 10 percent, thus providing a far weaker incentive to the states than the Act's sponsors had sought. In many states, so-called taxpayer revolts have further exacerbated resource scarcity. Moreover, administrative units have proven to be relatively unyielding to pressures to combine. The result has been a tendency to sort and distribute children according to the availability of funds and services in existing service configurations rather than to program the services according to the needs of children, which are revealed by the more comprehensive evaluation process (Prottas, 1978).

Before a school district can receive funds under the Act, an evaluation must be conducted. The evaluation process is costly and requires far more time and specialized personnel than it did formerly, thus the resource constraints combined with the Act's implementation deadlines have created the temptation to employ assembly line methods of evaluation. At worst, they are likely to be better than the simple reliance on classroom behavior and IQ scores as indicators of need, but categorizing and sorting children in order to facilitate their efficient processing may be inimical to the philosophy of individual treatment.

Whether more appropriate placements result from the improved evaluation process appears to be as problematic as ever. The increased sophistication of evaluations has highlighted the lack of sophistication and the scarcity of options in educational programming; satisfaction with an accurate assessment may be dissipated by frustration at the lack of an appropriate placement.

Resource constraints affect placements and services in various ways:

1. Schools are reluctant to provide the expensive related services called for by the Act. Related services included in the IEPs are often limited to those that are readily available: in some districts it is stated policy to avoid recommending costly or unavailable services, to be deliberately vague (SRI International, 1980), or to stay within quotas (Weatherley, 1979). Counseling, occupational therapy, physical therapy, and psychiatric services most often are excluded from IEPs. Parents may not be made fully cognizant of the circumstances affecting the advice they are given. Theoretically, the IEPs negotiated with parents should be constructed without regard for resource constraints, but school personnel may be reluctant to be forthcoming about options they cannot afford to provide. Commented one psychologist, "In the past I would have been more of an advocate for the children . . . I do less of that now. Laws like this pervade the atmosphere with 'let's be careful.' I

no longer tell parents what I think is best for the child" (SRI International, 1980, p. 96). Preferring to wait for a clearer idea of future funding levels, the Office of Special Education has delayed issuing guidelines on the provision of related services and has handled disputes on a case-by-case basis. This practice has led to confusion and delay in state compliance with the regulations of Public Law 94-142 and to the adoption of a variety of policies. In the meantime, courts have been expanding the scope of the term "related services" to include summer school and psychotherapy.

2. Schools have been given the primary responsibility to coordinate the provision of special education and related services. School officials were bound to find themselves in unfamiliar and awkward relations with other agencies (e.g., state Medicaid agency) but the difficulties have been compounded by the propensity of these agencies to drop young handicapped clients (e.g., children in residential institutions) into the laps of school officials without transferring funding. Agencies serving crippled children or providing institutional care to the mentally retarded, in some states, have cited enactment of Public Law 94-142 as an excuse to cease services to school-age children (U.S. Department of HEW, 1979; Weintraub, 1975).

3. Many school districts cannot afford enough trained staff, especially psychologists and special education teachers, to meet the identified needs of children (Government Accounting Office, 1981). Nor have such districts been able to afford inservice training for their teachers and staffs. Much of the training received by regular teachers focused on the special procedures required by the law and not the special needs of handicapped pupils (SRI International, 1980). In some rural areas the problem is less the availability of funds than the ability to attract trained people to fill available positions, such as audiologist, speech therapist, and psychologist.

4. School districts have been under pressure to give highest priority to reaching currently unserved children who, often, are the most costly to serve. Yet the federal contribution to the excess costs of educating handicapped youngsters was to reach its ultimate level of 40 percent only in the fifth year of implementation. This legislative design has had the effect of pitting severely handicapped against mildly handicapped children, as well as special against regular education, in the scramble for scarce resources. One result has been the tendency to place as many children as possible in regular classrooms (the least restrictive environment is often interpreted in practice as the least expensive environment) whether this setting is the most appropriate for the children. Reinforcing this tendency is the fact that the burden of proof is on the school to demonstrate that a child belongs in other than a regular classroom. The easy way out may be to put (or leave) children in regular classrooms and to hope for the best.

5. Faced with needs that are greater than resources, many school districts have sought to streamline evaluation and placement procedures by involving fewer people, cutting down on the number of tests or the number of steps, and standardizing the use of labels. IEPs also have been streamlined: forms have been shortened and, in some places, standardized by disability; and fewer meetings may be held. The resulting assembly line

atmosphere purchases efficiency at the expense of the personal and individual treatment of each child.

An Interim Assessment

It cannot be determined whether the net effect of these developments has been an increased tendency to place students who, formerly, were maintained in regular classrooms, in "special" classes and private schools or vice versa. Although many problems unquestionably are transitional, actual placement continues to reflect patterns of wealth disparity, limits on the availability of trained personnel, teacher preferences shaped by long-held beliefs and stereotypes, and the absence of alternatives; these circumstances are likely to persist.

A reasonable conjecture based on the cumulative experience to date is that the Act has significantly increased the quality and validity of the evaluation process and the likelihood that handicapped children, especially those with mild or physical handicaps, will be educated in regular classrooms. Those two developments do not appear to be so closely related as the Act's principal advocates would have liked, however; evaluations are much more immune to the effects of resource scarcity than are placement decisions.

Apart from enhancing the influence of determined and knowledgeable (though not necessarily correct) middle-class parents, the Act has done little to reduce the power of school people in making decisions that affect the well-being of handicapped children. Indeed, the specialized professionals who control the all-important evaluation process may be more influential than ever; the sophistication of the evaluation methods may have made the process less amenable to influence by ordinary parents. In the same vein, the lack of experience and competence and resource scarcity seem to have inhibited change toward the greater individuation of special education programming. The employment of standardized routines in classification and placement is less time-consuming and less costly. Indeed, many schools may have concentrated more on the image of compliance, with the adoption of procedural formalities, than on the substance of special education programming.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Shortly after President Ronald Reagan took office, his administration initiated budgetary and other changes that presaged a sharp shift in the federal role with respect to special education. In the spirit of negating entitlements created by federal social welfare legislation, the administration initially appeared anxious to devolve the responsibility for establishing priorities among social programs to the states, and to reduce the requirements imposed by federal regulations. Thus the administration proposed to include programs for handicapped children in an education block grant, to reduce the level of funding for these programs, and to repeal Public Law 94-142, relying instead on Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to protect the rights of handicapped children and youth to free, appropriate public education. In addition, the Act's regulations came under the scrutiny of Vice-President George Bush's Task Force on Regulatory Relief.

The Congress elected along with President Reagan was a good deal more conservative than its recent predecessors yet the legislators were quick to caution the President to back away from these proposals. Later, House and Senate committees omitted special education programs from block grant legislation and voted to continue increasing the federal funding of Public Law 94-142, although at a reduced rate of growth. Other programs for handicapped persons also were left out of the block grants, although their funding in many instances was reduced substantially.

The reasons special education programs were relatively immune to the Reagan administration's reforms can be found in the depth of these programs' roots in federal and state statutory and administrative structures. Public Law 94-142 is not just another federal grant program that entices the states to create a program serving a special interest with the lure of money. By 1981, it had become the federal underpinning for 50 sets of statutes and rules often ordered by the courts, providing for public education for handicapped children and youth. The same kinds of pressures on Congress from governors and state education officials that had led to the passage of the Act in the first place continued to induce even reluctant conservatives to support the program. Structural change had been significant, and it was not to be reversed in a single budget season.[11]

On the other hand, the future could not be said to hold increased federal generousity toward special education barring the unexpected achievement of noninflationary economic growth. Further attempts to repeal Public Law 94-142 are likely. Even if they are unsuccessful, as also seems likely, the problems of resource scarcity are almost certain to continue indefinitely. Moreover, conservative federal administration of social welfare programs is almost certain to mean the continuous scrutiny of Public Law 94-142 with an eye toward simplification, reduction of regulatory requirements, and budgetary savings. More stringent criteria of eligibility, reductions in the scope of related services, lowering of the federal share of program costs, easing of certification requirements, restrictions on private placements, and concentration on severely handicapped young people (i.e., the "truly needy") are the kinds of proposals that can be expected to surface during budget reviews by the administration and Congress. Program evaluators will raise issues such as the following:

- What is the impact of the Public Law funding formula, together with the Act's other provisions, on spending by handicap and by income recipient? Does increased parental participation mean that more resources are allocated to articulate middle- and upper-class parents whose children are having trouble in school?
- What does it actually cost to educate handicapped children? Should actual costs rather than arbitrary assumptions be the basis for federal reimbursements? Should the reimbursement formula be redesigned to direct resources toward the most needy?
- Should costs be more equitably apportioned among schools, other state agencies, such as Medicaid, and private insurance providers?

Should the latter be relieved of responsibility for any cost that conceivably comes under Public Law 94-142?

Declining elementary and secondary school enrollments, which might make possible the transfer of resources from regular to special education, surely will be cited by federal budget administrators to justify limits on federal funding.

Anthony Downs (1972) referred to this phase in the life cycle of a program as one of declining enthusiasm as the magnitude of the program's potential costs sinks in. However, the intrinsic appeal of the program's goals, the strength of advocacy organizations, and the relative sturdiness of statutory, legal, and administrative underpinnings for the program virtually preclude outright reversal, even if not some erosion, of the changes of the past few years. It is time to consolidate the gains.

FOOTNOTES

1. Some pinpoint the watershed as 1972, the year the Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children case was settled.

2. Numbers of children served generally reflect state counts undertaken for purposes of cost reimbursement.

3. This and subsequent attempts to generalize on special education should not be construed as implying that important exceptions of many kinds and in many places did not exist.

4. See the discussion of financial aid formulas and the incentives they create in the subsection, *Financing Special Education.*

5. Recent research suggests, for example, that using the same teaching approach for all students—say teaching children to read using phonics—may cause learning disabilities. Young children may have learning preferences related to cultural background, which may in turn be associated with race, and these children may achieve poorly when they are forced to learn in a different way.

6. A precursor to Public Law 94-142 was the Education Amendments of 1974 (Public Law 93-380), which extended (to 1977) and broadened Title VI of the ESEA. Passed while Public Law 94-142 was being drafted, these amendments contained much of the language and many of the provisions which were expanded in The Education for All Handicapped Children Act (e.g., state responsibility for planning and providing handicapped children an education, due process in placement, and mainstreaming).

7. The original authorization was about $680 million for both fiscal years 1976 and 1977; this was reduced in conference to $100 million for 1976 and $200 million for 1977.

8. The implementing regulations for Section 504 were issued in April 1977, after the issuance of the Public Law 94-142 regulations. Though less extensive and detailed, the Section 504 regulations require many of the same actions that Public Law 94-142 requires.

9. The Learning Disabilities Act of 1969 initiated learning disabilities programs in many states. These programs rapidly filled with students not eligible for any

other category. Many students previously classified as mentally retarded for lack of a better placement were shifted into learning disabilities placements. Programs for the emotionally disturbed developed later in the 1970s and, due to the negative connotation of the label and its recent appearance, it had difficulty luring emotionally disturbed youngsters from learning disabilities programs. The inclusion of the emotionally disturbed category in Public Law 94-142, along with individual education planning and the 20 percent limit on learning disabilities enrollment, helped to establish the credibility of emotionally disturbed programs and led to the shift of emotionally disturbed students into more appropriate programs.

10. The underlying assumption was that handicapped children cost twice as much to educate on the average as normal children. Reimbursements were not to be based on actual costs or any proxy for actual costs; thus actual reimbursements would not reflect severity of handicap or any other variations in per pupil cost.

11. The outright repeal of Public Law 94-142 might induce some state legislatures to follow suit; nearly 20 state legislatures have had bills before them to repeal or amend their laws if federal support were terminated.

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A RESPONSE TO LAURENCE E. LYNN, JR.

Jeanne Silver Frankl

Dr. Lynn's article provides an erudite review of the history of Public Law 94-142 and a thoughtful consideration of the degree to which the law has realized its sponsors' objectives. I agree with most of his observations but differ in others, given my vantage point with a New York City citizens' group that has pressed for the law's implementation as a potentially formative influence in improved education for handicapped and nonhandicapped children.

Lynn considers the law to mandate public schools to change their treatment of handicapped children. His description of its major provisions stresses expanded access to public education for the most seriously handicapped children, an end to the social and academic segregation most handicapped children encounter once they are in school, and increased incentives for investing financial and human resources in educational services that are appropriate to the children's needs. His assessment of the law's influence, frankly impeded by the unavailability of data on educational outcomes, is mixed. He cites examples of dramatic change in the personal and educational lives of children whose needs have been properly evaluated and met for the first time in consequence of the new requirements. On the other hand, he points to the problems which have prevented such consistent results, for example, lack of funds, bureaucratic resistance to change, suspicion between special and regular education professionals, and lack of financial resources for training, program planning, and related services.

Among the negative consequences from such roadblocks cited by Lynn have been an emphasis on process rather than quality in efforts to carry out the law's evaluation and placement provisions; a public perception that "normal" children are relatively discriminated against in services, and the frequently boiler-plate application of individualized educational programs which were to have been the jewel in the crown of reform. He also stresses the disappointing but not surprising news that middle- and upper-class parents have found the protections of Public Law 94-142 much easier to seek than have poor, minority and rural folks, characteristically using them to obtain placement in specialized and, in New York at least, often racially segregated private schools. Nevertheless, Lynn concludes optimistically that "the intrinsic appeal of the program's goals, the strength of advocacy organizations, and the relative sturdiness of statutory, legal, and administrative underpinnings for the program virtually precludes outright reversal of the changes of the past few years."

Some people are less sanguine than Lynn that the intrinsic qualities of Public Law 94-142 will provide protection against the erosion of important requirements. To those concerned with effective change, the law's strictures are a welcome mandate. However, to those preoccupied with the actual or perceived encroachments of government on their authority, distaste for the law's impositions overrides any sense of the benefits it may produce. It is far from clear that the first view will prevail. I agree that the strength of advocacy organizations can sustain federal and state support for these innovations if anything can, and I strongly endorse Lynn's ultimate conclusion that "it is time to consolidate the gains" of the past five years. Indeed, I think that some gains can be more sharply identified than they are in his paper whereas some problems can be clearly identified as no more than normal hurdles to change in practice, which have no reason to persist unless indulged by school administrations.

It is important to note as background that New York City, although an early sponsor of important categorical programs for handicapped children, entered the era of Public Law 94-142 extremely backward in the field of special education. Emerging interest elsewhere in both the educational potential of working in less restrictive environments and the approaches that make such work feasible were novel and, initially, suspect. In New York too the period since 1976 has been characterized by the intensive advocacy of citizens' and parents' groups and by widespread public discussion of the issues. A number of important federal lawsuits against the New York City Board of Education have generated mandatory orders or consent decrees requiring the implementation of Public Law 94-142 according to procedures negotiated among the parties and prescribed by the courts (see *Jose P.*, 1975, and *Lora,* 1979). Lynn's comprehensive analysis tends to obscure some macro consequences of this intense activity. Notwithstanding the difficulties he accurately conveys, it has brought about changes that have enormous implications.

1. Education of handicapped children and youth has moved into the public limelight and ceased to be a matter of parochial concern. Barriers to understanding among special and regular education professionals and parents of handicapped and nonhandicapped children have begun to erode. The general public and regular education professionals are increasingly interested in both the educational welfare of handicapped children and the broader implications of new techniques used in working with them.

2. The provisions of Public Law 94-142, grounded as they are in profoundly held philosophical and experience-based educational views, have generated considerable ferment of thinking, planning, and action. There has been a unique cross-fertilization of ideas within and among states, school systems, and the education profession. Concepts in special education, like "IEP," "school-based evaluation," on-site provision of "related" services, multidisciplinary evaluation and planning, parental involvement in program decisions for children, and "preventive" services, have spread throughout the country and entered the lexicon of all professionals. They are slowly beginning to influence school management across the board as well as to reform interventions in special education.

3. Due process rights and other entitlements, although predictably used first and most by sophisticated middle- and upper-class parents are helping increasing numbers of poor, minority, and rural children to obtain better and more timely evaluations and placements. If nothing else, they provide the necessary legal basis for administrative procedures and class actions by advocacy groups. As a result, the number of children in New York City receiving special education services has doubled from about 5 percent to almost 10 percent of the pupil population.

4. Although federal funding to support new entitlements has been barely a drop in the bucket, and state funding in places like New York at least, has lagged way behind increased entitlements, the new requirements have generated a greatly increased commitment of resources to special education needs. Perhaps even more important, they appear to be new resources that demonstrably are not drawn from funds which otherwise would be available to support general education. Thus, they represent an increased commitment to education generally against the prevailing impulse to cut such funds. This is particularly significant to people who appreciate that handicapped school children are just school children after all who, more often than not, are distinguished from fellow students only by learning difficulties that not even the most hardened foe of "extra burdens" on educational systems would describe as falling outside the schools' domain.

5. The mandates for concurrent provision of the least restrictive environment and appropriate educational services, as well as the prohibition against discriminatory assessment, are stimulating more sensitive and diversified responses to the broader question of how to reconcile pupil integration with special programming for children with special needs.

The foregoing changes, only some of which have occurred since 1976, suggest a new climate which is conducive to better special education and innovation across a broad educational front. At least in cities like New York, they also reflect the beginnings of major administrative shifts that are necessary to accommodate the law's requirements. Arguably, both kinds of change have proceeded far enough so that wholesale reversal will be deterred by the force of inertia alone. They are promising for the future of public education.

On the other hand, particularly if the gains are assessed in terms of quality and equity for all children, clearly a great deal remains to be done. Looking at New York City as an example, we start with the fact that far too many children remain on waiting lists for both evaluation and placement. In the face of enormous needs, our evaluation teams are understaffed and undertrained; our provision of related services is almost nonexistent; and our programs for appropriate education in the mainstream are few and far between. Children continue to be bused long distances out of their neighborhoods and school districts to both resource rooms and self-contained classes. There is an acute lack of needed materials, equipment, and supplies. Moreover, there are many documented examples of a lack of coordination between special and regular education personnel which is both inefficient and detrimental to the interests of children. We are hampered in evaluation and programming by an acute shortage of qualified teachers, psychologists, and guidance personnel.

Looking to movement on these problems, we encounter obstacles from every direction. Five years after the law's passage, the academic and practical work of developing and disseminating guidelines for evaluations and programming has only begun in New York State and City. There is no blueprint for a full continuum of special education services; guidelines for parental involvement are poorly disseminated among parents and staff; and no system is avaliable for monitoring either program quality of school and staff compliance with the requirements of law, regulations, and court orders. Presumably, for all these reasons and more, the few program evaluations which have been made reveal great unevenness in the quality of evaluations and services for individual children in different locations and schools. Most observers believe that the better examples, although naturally many in a city the size of New York, are comparatively few when measured against the whole.

Of course, various explanations have been offered for these problems as well as occasional denials by administrators that the problems exist. Even the most hardened advocates for handicapped pupils would concede that precise solutions can be hard to determine and underlying causes difficult to pin down. Without taking sides on all the issues, it is possible to make some generalizations that define the difficulties encountered in preparing a large system to incorporate the changes required by Public Law 94-142 and to suggest some approaches that would tend to make them less intractable.

The first fundamental problem is that measures have not been taken to reconcile the requirements of an inherently school-based concept with the characteristics of a large, bureaucratic, and substantially centralized system. This would be a problem in any system which, traditionally, has separated the administration of its special from its regular education program. It is compounded in New York's decentralized system in which the regular education program of schools below the secondary level is the responsibility of local school boards and superintendents.

Under New York law, special education planning, budgeting, management, and program execution are vested in centrally appointed and accountable officials who have no authority over the schools in which they must locate evaluation teams, special education classes, and support services. Therefore there are no incentives (for a discussion of possible incentives, see Anderson (1981), for special and regular education personnel to work together or even for school principals to be hospitable to special education programs. The potential for competition and conflict inherent in this set-up has been realized in fact.

This type of problem can be dealt with even without the complete decentralization of special education, which many parents fear will curtail services to their children in special education. School principals and regular education personnel will respond to incentives to assume responsibility for working with special education professionals in the schools. Various incentives can be imagined, including but not limited to additional monetary and other resources for the schools as a *quid pro quo* for extra effort in coordination, evaluation, and programming.

A second fundamental problem is personnel recruitment. It is multifaceted, partly a function of the confusion over what special education professionals should know to serve in different positions and the consequent failure of schools and certification officials to generate a qualified recruitment pool. It is made more difficult by the widespread reluctance of teaching graduates to serve in a large urban school system where the teaching job has become increasingly difficult and real earnings have sharply declined. Again, it is a problem that can be handled; not, however, without a degree of research, advance planning, and forethought, the absence of which has been a pervasive source of problems in implementing the federal law. A proper sequence would include research to identify only those truly appropriate learnings that are necessary for different special education specialities; curriculum development with universities and teachers' colleges, including appropriate internship experiences and negotiations to revise certification requirements accordingly. Meanwhile, a crash program would be mounted to develop and institute emergency training and certification procedures and supplementary on-the-job training programs that would enable new recruits to start work with a sense of competence, assurance of professional support, and right-to-the-job prerequisites of income and tenure accrual, for example, for fully qualified beginning teachers.

A direct attack on the preceding problems would clear the way for other no less important tasks. Among the most crucial are meeting the needs for intensive and wide-ranging retraining of both special and regular education personnel, which was emphasized by Lynn. This activity, almost impossible to carry out sensitively on a system-wide centralized basis, could be well handled at the school level. It could be integrated with an equally essential innovation: the provision for on-going support to regular classroom teachers in accommodating classroom programs to the new demands of children with special needs who are retained in their classes most of the time and provided there with ancillary support services. At the same time, the clarification of local responsibilities in evaluation, programming, parent involvement, and the like should be expressed in clear guidelines and enforced through on-going monitoring and evaluation systems.

The recent progress in moving toward public acceptance and realization of the goals of Public Law 94-142 often has been blurred by the perception of the failures and by acidulous controversy over what has occurred and whose fault it is. The law has been traduced and the lawyers and courts maligned who seek to inforce its provisions. Without being glib about any of these controversies, it seems possible to ascribe most of them either to the understandable defensiveness of the schools and their administrations, which are charged with a hard and politically controversial mandate, or to the objections from the citizens who are tired of high taxes and government regulations and who often are misinformed about the mandate's significance and implications. To override these positions, it is necessary to document that the law is potentially a cost effective and enormously beneficial educational measure. The question of whether the commitments it represents should have come about through federal enactment, which is sure to be an issue in coming years, does not call for the expert opinion of educators or advocates, although the latter may well maintain that it was the only leverage for innovation. The substantive importance to public education of the law's provisions and the feasibility of complying with them are, however, issues that are clearly within the competence of educators and education advocates to address. We should research and document the progress which has been made and exert continued pressures for more effective implementation that can better put the law to the test.

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EFFECTIVENESS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

Gene V. Glass

The following observations on the question of best educational procedures for the majority of pupils labeled "handicapped" are directed specifically to the 92 percent of labeled children who suffer, more or less, from mental retardation, speech impairment, emotional disturbance, or learning disability. My comments probably are not applicable to the 8 in 100 handicapped children who are blind, deaf, or crippled and who, today, as in the days of Samuel Gridley Howe, are served courageously and well by their teachers and schools. My attention is limited to those conditions that are so nonspecific that they are believed to exist in 4.7 percent of the pupil population in one U.S. State (Delaware) and 0.1 percent in an adjacent area (Washington, D.C.). Indeed, it is my premise that most pupils who are labeled "handicapped" in our schools are diagnosed so arbitrarily because of nonspecific symptoms that most questions of treatment efficacy are, perforce, irrelevant. The situation is like one that arose some years ago when I was dining with a philosopher of science and the table talk wandered haphazardly toward schizophrenia. I recounted a recent wire-service release announcing that the chemical basis of schizophrenia had been discovered. "Interesting," remarked the philosopher, "particularly considering the fact that two seemingly competent psychiatrists at a major U.S. teaching hospital diagnose each new admission as schizophrenic at rates of 90 percent and 20 percent respectively." That is the nub of the problem: Had the chemical been discovered that causes what psychiatrist A called schizophrenia or what psychiatrist B called schizophrenia? Are we here asking about the best treatment of what psychologist A calls a learning disability or what psychologist B calls a learning disability?

It is not wise to maintain categorically that one cannot effectively treat those syndromes one cannot diagnose. Surely one can effectively treat what one does not understand, for example, headache or even cancer. But it would be a wonder, indeed, to discover that treatments for handicapped children differed greatly in efficacy or could be sensitively applied to their conditions when we know that what is said to be a handicap in one locale is likely to be given a different label or none at all somewhere else. The complexities of treatment efficacy must not be taken lightly because they touch on questons of diagnosis validity. Special education diagnosis is a duke's mixture of politics, science fiction, medicine, social work, administrative convenience, and what-not. For example, my university has a Ph. D. graduate student in history who was diagnosed as "language learning disabled" by a social worker after the student repeatedly failed the required ETS German exam. When the student's appeal for relief from the requirement on the grounds of his disability was rejected, he sued the Graduate Dean. Question: What is the treatment of choice for this handicapped student?

I want first to give direct and brief answers to the questions posed by the conference planners, both because the questions deserve to be addressed and because I want to put aside these concerns so that they do not unduly shape or divert the torrent of incredulity that the topic of special education inevitably evokes from me.

1. What do we know about the effectiveness of different educational approaches? **Answer**: We know that different approaches differ little *on the average* in their outcomes, but that the same approach differs greatly in effectiveness from teacher to teacher, school to school, city to city. This phenomenon occurs also in psychotherapy (Smith, Glass, & Miller, 1981) and other areas. Unfortunately, we cannot predict with whom or where it will be effective. These are the conditions under which intelligent educational policy must be formulated.

2. To what extent is best practice a part of actual practice? **Answer**: The question is put forward with the researcher's prejudice. It assumes that best and actual practice are different, the implication being that teachers are not now doing their best or that they do what they do because they are ignorant of the best way to do things. It still may be a legitimate reading of this question to infer that it was drafted in the belief that the best practice has been put forward in a book or research article or at a demonstration site somewhere in the world. I share neither presupposition.

3. What are the knowledge bases on which new systems are being constructed and how sound are they? **Answer**: I don't know, but I can guess. Special educators always have shown a fascination for medicine. Physicians sometimes have shown a fascination for schools. It is an unfortunate relation that has produced some of special education's more embarrassing moments: glutamic acid, patterning, the Orton Society. The fascination will never die, primarily because *some* handicaps that show up in school do have physiological, neurological, or biochemical bases. If I had to guess (and I promised I would) it would be that you can find special education researchers today who have hopes for right-left brain research, nutrition, and even the Finegold diet.

At the antithesis stage of the dialectic whose first stage was medicine, special educators turn to Skinner and behavioral modification. As a knowledge base, behavioral modification consistently underestimates the problems of redesigning "contingencies" on a 24-hour society-wide scale, and its theoretical constructs create a myopia on questions of relapse, generalization, transfer, symptom substitution, and the like. The myopia is preserved because behavior modifiers do not carry out long-term treatment follow-ups with control groups (but then, neither does anyone else).

Special education researchers today probably hold out hopes that the burgeoning field of cognitive psychology will contribute greatly to the problems of special education. Cognitive psychology has a long way to go before it speaks with a helpful voice to educators. It may not get there in our life-time. I hold out greater hopes for behavioral genetics, a subject that leads to matters of prevention, not correction.

4. Are current research methods adequate for determining the effectiveness of alternative treatments? **Answer**: Yes.

5. What does the problem of finding effective treatments have to do with learning theory and inferential statistics? **Answer**: Nothing.

The rest of this paper is addressed mostly to the review of three major integrative analyses of special education efficacy. They are called "meta-analyses" because they analyze the findings of primary statistical analyses; they are comprehensive statistical integrations of the findings of literally hundreds of controlled experiments on the benefits of treatments that are typically applied in the name of special education. The first analysis, which deals with the effects of the placement of low-IQ pupils in resource rooms or full-time special education classes, does not distinguish among the activities that take place there nor does it attempt to pin down the individual benefits. Nonetheless, it is relevant to the question of whether worthwhile benefits accrue to pupils who are removed from regular classrooms and exposed to whatever activities currently go on in special classes. The second and third meta-analyses look specifically at perceptual-motor and psycho-linguistic training. These three analyses encompass a great deal of the practices that currently undergird special education. They provide the basis for some concluding (and fragmentary) thoughts on effective teaching and educational policy.

AN OUTCOME EVALUATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION PLACEMENT

Carlberg (1979; see also Carlberg & Kavale, 1980) located 50 controlled experimental studies in which the effects of the placement of pupils in regular vs. special education classrooms was evaluated. The 50 studies yielded over 300 measures (a single study might measure effects on more than one dependent variable, e.g., school achievement, social adjustment, and IQ) of the comparative effects of the two placements. The investigator expressed a single experimental finding on a metric scale called "effect size." The effect size for a comparison was defined as follows:

$$\Delta = \frac{\overline{X}_s - \overline{X}_R}{s_R}, \text{ where}$$

$\overline{X}_s$ is the average outcome variable score for pupils with special education placement,

$\overline{X}_R$ is the average outcome variable score for pupils with regular classroom placement, and

s_R is the standard deviation for pupils in the regular classroom.

Hence, Δ measures the average effect accruing to pupils placed in special education as opposed to the distribution of scores of pupils left in regular classrooms. I emphasize that by and large these 50 studies were *controlled* experiments in which the initial comparability of the pupils placed in the two classes was insured. The objection that "everyone knows" that pupils in regular classes are brighter than pupils in special classes cannot be made against Δ or these experimental studies; such an objection is just not valid here.

The effect size measure Δ can be interpreted as follows (see Glass, McGaw, & Smith, 1981): If Δ is positive, special classroom placement out-scored regular classroom placement. If Δ is zero, scores in the two placements were equal. For example, if Δ = +1, then, assuming normal distributions of within-group scores, the average pupil (i.e., the pupil at the 50th percentile) in the special classroom scored higher than 85 percent of the pupils in the regular classroom. A Δ value of -1 has the opposite meaning. Of course, a range of negative and positive values of Δ is possible. In a comparison of elementary school pupils' basic skill achievement for the beginning and end of a school year the calculation of Δ typically gives a value of between +.75 and +1.00. The Δ measure of effect of about 20 hours of psychotherapy when a treated group is compared to an untreated control group on measures of anxiety, self-concept, and the like is about +.90 (Smith, Glass, & Miller, 1981).

Carlberg's data analysis produced some unsettling findings. Across all 50 experiments, the 322 Δ measures averaged -.12! The 50 experiments encompassed 27,000 pupils with an average age of 11 years, average IQ of 74, and average exposure to special education of 69 weeks, or a little under 2 school years. The pupils retained in regular classrooms out-scored those placed in special education classrooms by about one-tenth of a standard deviation. Stated equivalently but in slightly different terms, the average or 50th percentile pupil after two years of special education placement dropped to the 45th percentile of his peers who were left in the regular classroom.

How can this possibly be? How can it be that pupils placed in special education classes are slightly *worse* off (in terms of achievement and social or personality adjustment) than if they had been left in regular classrooms? It is entirely plausible. Special education placement of a pupil may lower his teacher's expectations for his performance, resulting in less effort by the teacher and less learning by the child (Smith, 1980), and it may introduce the child to a system in which instructional efforts are diverted from academic learning to dubious attempts at remediation of central nervous system deficits.

Carlberg separated the 322 effect sizes according to whether the outcomes of achievement or social and personality growth were measured. He obtained the following average effects:

Outcome	Average Effect of Special vs. Regular Placement	No. of Effect Sizes
Achievement	Δ = -.15	127
Social/Personality	-.11	161
Other*	-.02	34

*Speech, perception, physical activity, and intellectual aptitude.

When the data were separated by diagnoses of the pupils according to the categories of EMR, Slow Learner, and LD or ED, the following average effects resulted:

Diagnosis	Average Effect of Special vs. Regular Placement	No. of Effect Sizes
EMR (IQ 50-75)	$\Delta = -.14$	249
SL (IQ 75-90)	-.34	38
LD or ED	.29	35

Carlberg went on to classify and average the Δ measures in many different ways: by specific type of outcome, teacher's level of experience, pupil's socio-economic status, internal validity of the experimental design, "fakeability" of the outcome measures, and other experimental features. No classification revealed a hidden treasure of consistently positive and large treatment effects. Indeed, the entire picture was utterly dismal. Carlberg and Kavale (1980) concluded that "... special class placement is an inferior alternative to regular class placement in benefiting children removed from the educational mainstream" (p. 304). Special education placement showed no tangible benefits whatsoever for the pupils. Either someone thinks otherwise or special placements continue to be made for reasons other than benefits to pupils.

Perhaps Carlberg's analysis is too general for some tastes, though it is definitely not too general for mine. Perhaps some people feel that "special education placement" is a label that covers a multitude of different endeavors and that what *they* do in the name of special education placement is not like what was done in the 50 studies Carlberg evaluated. Perhaps some still feel that their way of treating pupils in special education classes can escape the actuarial odds because among special education programs, which are generally ineffective, theirs is truly special. For their sake, we must dig deeper into the evidence.

DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS-PRESCRIPTIVE TEACHING

Arter and Jenkins (1979) critically appraised differential diagnosis and prescriptive teaching: "The dominant instructional model within special education, Differential Diagnosis–Prescriptive Teaching, involves the assessment of psycholinguistic and perceptual motor abilities that are presumed necessary for learning basic academic skills" (p. 517). Where these perceptual-motor or psycholinguistic abilities are found to be deficient, they are adapted to circumvent the weaknesses. Arter and Jenkins reviewed the evidence from dozens of studies and experiments in which the assumptions of DD-PT were tested. They concluded that all such assumptions were unsupported by evidence.

> The DD-PT model is preferred by the vast majority of special education teachers. . . . In a statewide survey of Illinois, it was found that 82% of special education teachers believed that they could, and should, train weak abilities, 99% thought that a child's modality strengths and weaknesses should be a major consideration when devising educational prescriptions, and 93% believed that their students had learned more when they modified instruction to match modality strengths. The same survey provided data to suggest that teacher training programs were, to a large degree, responsible for these views and practices. Unsupported expert opinion and teacher training programs resulting from this opinion appear to have a direct, deleterious effect on teacher behavior and an indirect effect on children's learning. Not only are teachers adhering to an unvalidated model, but because they have been persuaded that the model is useful, they are less apt to create variations in instructional procedures which will result in improved learning. We believe that until a substantive research base for the DD-PT model has been developed, it is imperative to call for a moratorium on advocacy of DD-PT, on classification and placement of children according to differential ability tests, on the purchase of instructional materials and programs which claim to improve these abilities, and on coursework designed to train DD-PT teachers (pp. 549-550).

Arter and Jenkins did two things I would not do: (a) They reviewed studies in a manner that is both too narrative (i.e., insufficiently quantitative) and too attentive to small niceties of methodology; and (b) they called quixotically for moratoriums in a world of ideas where the only genuine power is that of individual belief. Two meta-analyses exist, both performed by a colleague of mine at the University of California at Reverside, which I find more congenial methodologically and less strident politically. They are addressed to the two foundations of the dominant mode of teaching in American special education: perceptual-motor and psycholinguistic training.

Perceptual-Motor Training

Kavale and Mattson (1980) found 180 experiments on the effectiveness of perceptual-motor training. The theories and names appearing in this literature read like the roster of a Hall of Fame of special education: Delacato, Kephart, Cratty, Frostig, and others. The 180 controlled experimental studies produced 637 Δ measures of the comparative outcomes of placement in either a perceptual-motor training group or an untreated control group:

$$\Delta = \frac{\bar{X}_{\text{P-M Training}} - \bar{X}_{\text{control.}}}{s_{\text{control}}}$$

The 637 effect size measures present an unbroken vista of disappointment: no positive effects; nothing; a complete washout. In Table 1, the Δ effect-size meaures are categorized and averaged for different perceptual-motor training programs. They all show up equally bad.

Table 1

Average Effect Sizes for Perceptual-Motor Training Programs

Training Program	Number of Effect Sizes	Mean: $\bar{\Delta}$	Standard Error $\sigma\bar{\Delta}$
Barsch	18	.157	.053
Cratty	27	.113	.041
Delacato	79	.161	.025
Frostig	173	.096	.015
Getman	48	.124	.029
Kephart	132	.064	.016
Combination	78	.057	.037
Other	82	-.021	.014

In Table 2, the effect sizes are classified by the type of outcome that was measured: perceptual functioning, school achievement, aptitude, or "adaptive behavior." Again, no effective intervention is indicated.

Table 2

Average Effect Sizes for Perceptual Motor Outcome Classes

Outcome Class	Number of Effect Sizes	$\bar{\Delta}$: Mean	Standard Error
Perceptual/Sensory Motor	233	.166	.017
Academic Achievement	283	.013	.018
Cognitive/Aptitude	95	.028	.023
Adaptive Behavior	26	.267	.072

In Table 3, the average effect sizes are reported by diagnostic categories of the pupils. Essentially zero effects are seen in all groups.

Table 3

Average Effect Size for Subject Groups

Subject	Number of Effect Sizes	Mean: $\overline{\Delta}.$	Standard Error: $\sigma_{\overline{\Delta}.}$
Normal	58	.054	.044
Educable Mentally Retarded (IQ = 50-75)	143	.132	.033
Trainable Mentally Retarded (IQ = 20-50)	66	.147	.027
Slow Learner (IQ = 75-90)	14	.098	.062
Culturally Disadvantaged	85	.045	.042
Learning Disabled	77	.018	.029
Reading Disabled	74	-.007	.024
Motor Disabled	118	.121	.026

PSYCHOLINGUISTIC TRAINING

Kavale (1981) performed a meta-analysis of 34 experiments in which an attempt was made by the investigators to train pupils in the kinds of aptitudes that are represented on the Illinois Text of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA). In all but a few studies, the experimental group was compared to an untreated control group so that the efficacy of such training (if it could be established) would be a minimal demonstration of its utility for education. The more pertinent experiment pitted psycholinguistic training against regular academic instruction and assessed outcomes on both psycholinguistic abilities and school achievement.

Kavale translated the findings of these experiments effect size measures:

$$\Delta = \frac{\overline{X}_{\text{Psychling. training}} - \overline{X}_{\text{control}}}{s_{\text{control}}}$$

In Table 4 the effect sizes, classified by ITPA subtest and averaged, are listed.

The average effect sizes are small by most standards, and they divide roughly into two broad classes: small or near zero effect ($\overline{\Delta}.$ around .30 or less) and moderate effect ($\overline{\Delta}.$ around .50). The first class includes 6 of the 12 subtests; if one eliminates subtests in which the data are thin (5 or fewer effect sizes, say), then 5 of the 9 subtests show small or no effects. It looks as though better than half the ITPA abilities are not trainable; they are auditory reception, visual reception, grammatic closure, auditory sequential memory, and visual sequential memory. Four abilities appear to be moderately trainable; they are auditory and visual association, and verbal and manual expression. Exactly what these are and whether they are trained better in classrooms is an open question. Suffice it to conclude from Kavale's meta-analysis that two associative and two expressive abilities can

Table 4

Average Effect Sizes for ITPA Subtests

ITPA Subtest	Number of Effect Sizes	$\bar{\Delta}$: Mean Effect Size	σ_{Δ}: Standard Deviation of Effect Size
Auditory Reception	20	.21	.54
Visual Reception	20	.21	.45
Auditory Association	24	.44	.44
Visual Association	21	.39	.41
Verbal Expression	24	.63	.85
Manual Expression	23	.54	.56
Grammatic Closure	21	.30	.44
Visual Closure	5	.48	.72
Auditory Sequential Memory	21	.32	.55
Visual Sequential Memory	21	.27	.55
Auditory Closure	3	-.05	.57
Sound Blending	3	.38	.42

Source: K. Kavale. Functions of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities: Are They Trainable? *Exceptional Children,* 1981, *47,* 496-510.

be trained to the extent of about one-half sigma. Hammill and Larsen (1974) probably overstated their case when they concluded their review of the same literature that was analyzed by Kavale with the statement, "neither the ITPA subtests nor their theoretical constructs are particularly ameliorative [sic; read 'remediable' for 'ameliorative'] " (p. 12).

Hammill and Larsen may lose the battle (to Kavale) but they will win the war. Whatever auditory and visual association or verbal and manual expression actually are (and on this point, twin studies probably will be required to determine whether they are more like abilities or achievements), it is necessary for advocates of psycholinguistic training in special education classes to demonstrate that it pays dividends in school learning, not merely psychometric dividends on diagnostic tests. And here the 50 percent success rate for ITPA training drops sadly to zero. Arter and Jenkins (1979) reviewed what few studies of this type exist (and it is a much too-seldom studied issue) and concluded that "the research shows that more often than not academic performance is not improved [by ability training programs] . . . . In the majority of studies, control groups performed as well on both ability and *academic measures* as did experimental groups"(p. 547; italics added).

WHAT WORKS IN (SPECIAL) EDUCATION AND WHY

The relation between what is taught and what is learned in schools is, for the most part, fairly direct. Surely it is mediated by all manner of psychological, biochemical, and physiological processes but, for the educator, these processes are largely irrelevant. One teaches spelling so that pupils will learn to spell; one teaches math so that pupils will learn math. One does not teach "auding" (listening and understanding) so that pupils will learn to read nor "visual sequential memory" so that they will learn to add. This opinion is not errant antiscientific or agnostic primitivism; it is based on my reading of a generation of educational and psychological research and the consequences of the attempts to put the findings into practice.

Of course, there are mediating variables that carry the teacher's influence from the business of teaching to the child's business of learning. To mention a few (from most distal to proximal), there are, for teachers, work-load, class-size, and individual attention to pupils, and for pupils, attention to and engagement with their work. The front-end of this chain is influenced most by economics, the back-end, by teachers' and pupils' values and attitudes toward work.

The account of concrete events in classrooms may add substance to this point. George (1981) conducted an ethnographic study of a special education teacher and six elementary school pupils. These 8- and 9-year-old pupils were classified, by the conventions of the education agency of the state in which they resided, as suffering from Significant Identifiable Emotional Disorders (SIEDs). The teacher was known to be unusual in her ability to foster academic learning in the children. How she does it is had to say, but some clues appear in what the ethnographer saw over the course of a few months in the classroom and what the teacher, Ms. Russell, said about herself.

> Ms. Russell: I tell them [the children in her class], and I strongly believe in this, that they are no different from any other kid in this school. Some of them have a learning problem, some of them have some other kind of problem. But it's okay because we all have a problem, at least one, maybe lots. We have to learn somehow to live with the problem (pp. 6-7).

C.A. George, the ethnographer, recounted a typical afternoon in Ms. Russell's class:

> I arrive at 12:30. The children have just had lunch which includes time for recess. When I arrive all of the children but Anne are at their desk working quietly. Apparently they had to work over part of their lunch period. Anne comes in at 12:32, she has been at recess. Anne gets her spelling book, looks around and notices that the other children are not doing spelling. Ms. Russell announces to all the children, 'I think you'd better start spelling.' The students got their workbooks off the cart.
>
> Tracy has her hand up. Ms. Russell checks her paper. It is not a spelling paper. Ms. Russell goes to Tommy, 'Tommy you're going to have to work on this a little more [referring to an

> assignment]. This one would be fine if you'd turn it around and spell it correctly.' Neil and Anne are writing.
>
> Mike is flipping his workbook pages; he is not writing. Ms. Russell goes to Mike, 'Do you know what you are doing on spelling? Right here,' Ms. Russell points to a section in the workbook. Tracy gets up and blows her nose. She goes back to her seat and raises her hand, 'How do you do this page?' Ms. Russell works with Tracy. Ms. Russell goes to Neil, 'Having trouble, Neil?' Neil: 'Yeah, having trouble with the last one in the middle.' Ms. Russell sits by Neil and helps him. Tracy has her shoes off and is scratching her head as she is writing. Several of the children have their hands up. Ms. Russell asks Ms. Smith, the classroom aide, to check a couple of the students' papers. Ms. Smith has been working on the May bulletin board. Ms. Smith to Mike, 'Are you ready?' Mike: 'No, I'm having trouble with something.' Ms. Russell says to Neil, 'You can't change anything but the vowel sound. Everything else stays the same. How do you pronounce that?' Neil responds. 'There are two ways to pronounce every vowel. What is the other way you could pronounce it?' Neil responds. 'Do the very same thing with this word. Now put both of those in here.' Ms. Russell goes to Tracy: 'Very nice, put this away and finish up.' Ms. Russell goes to Joe: 'Are you all caught up with your spelling for today and tomorrow? I don't know how you expect to go on this field trip and do other things.'
>
> The next hour continued in the same fashion with Ms. Russell going from student to student answering questions, correcting papers and making sure the students were working on their assignments. I asked Ms. Russell how she was able to maintain order in the classroom. 'I think basically it just boils down to organization along with the expectations. To have the kids organized in such a way to where they know what is expected of them each day.' Ms. Russell also spoke of her own needs for order: 'I can't tolerate confusion and chaos. I wouldn't be teaching if I taught in a classroom with a lot of that' (pp. 6-7).

George found a theme running through Ms. Russell's life as a teacher and her relations with pupils. Expectations—that which adults expect of children and for which they are held responsible—are the key to their education.

> Ms. Russell: I think expectations have a lot to do with behavior. I strongly believe this and I believe this more and more the longer I teach special education children. If you expect them to be weird, they are going to be weird. And if you expect them to

> be normal and behave, whatever normal is, whatever behave is, you can kind of expect [that they will].
>
> Ms. Russell elaborated on her expectations: 'I tell them at first that everything is on their shoulders. I can't get them out of special education. I can't get them from here into that regular classroom. They are going to have to work twice as hard because they are already behind. The harder they work the more I'm going to expect of them and they are going to hate it sometimes but that's the way I have it figured out that they can get from here to there.' With regard to their classwork: 'I expect whatever they are doing to be done right, I expect it to look nice. I expect them not to be sloppy. I expect them not to be lazy and do the least they can do in order to get by.' Ms. Russell expected the children to be working and to work hard, and for the most part they were. The following demonstrates how Ms. Russell shares her expectations directly with the children: 'Tracy, get pencil in hand and start working. I'm telling you if you don't get something done you won't get to go in there [the assembly] when everyone else does. You decide.' Ms. Russell looked at Neil's paper and said, 'What did I tell you to do after the title? I know I told you, it's called listening to directions.' Ms. Russell to Tommy: 'All the work that isn't finished will be done in the office at noon. If you want to be part of third grade math you need to get your act together' (p. 10).

The point I wish to stress here is that the whole concatenation of influences (from teacher's work-load to child's attention to his work) has little to do with models or programs of education as these are typically put together by researchers (nearly always psychologists) and taught by teacher educators. Whoever watches teachers with their pupils sees human beings struggling constantly with their feelings about work: whether their own is adequately compensated, whether others expect too much of them, and how much they can expect of their pupils without risking rejection. These feelings, perhaps more than any other, constitute what for want of more precise language might be called the "tone" of a classroom; they define the contingencies of the relations between teachers and pupils even more than do M&Ms and gold stars. The point for those who think about special education or education more generally is that how teachers cope with work—theirs and their pupils'—is an expression of privately held motives not readily expressed to others and, indeed, often and at the deepest levels not understood by the persons themselves. I know of few models of education that take teachers seriously in these respects, that is, that regard teachers as human beings worthy of respect in their own right rather than as reinforcers, group discussion leaders, or custodians of printed materials. It is worthy of note that the ethnographer reported never having heard Ms. Russell mention an IEP nor seeing evidence of one in her classroom. Educators who treat teachers as humans think too deeply about education to be among the developers and purveyors of government-sponsored and "validated" models of education.

The success of Ms. Russell and teachers like her has nothing to do with models of teaching and learning which are based on psychological theories of individual differences and learning. My experiences with such models (i.e., programs of what to teach, when, how, and the like) are unequivocal: Those that are superior to traditional teaching are only slightly superior. More important, the success of any educational model is enormously variable (House, Glass, McLean, & Walker, 1978). What works in one place does not work someplace else. The variability of model effectiveness from school to school is typically 10 times larger than the average model effectiveness across all schools! This is not just a feature of special education or general education. I have observed it in almost every area of behavioral treatment (Glass, 1981). In 19 different areas (e.g., psychotherapy, teaching, CAI, and effects of TV on children) of behavioral research encompassing the results of over 4,500 experimental comparisons, the average effect size for compared treatment and control groups was consistently one half as large as the standard deviation of the effect sizes. Thus, behavioral treatments are more variable than beneficial in their effects! Consider again an example close to special education: Kavale's (1981) meta-analysis of psycholinguistic training effects (see Table 4). The average training effect size (obtained by contrasting the training and control groups' averages in standard deviation units) is +.34; but the average standard deviation of these effects sizes across studies is +.54. Hence, the effect is only about 60 percent as large as it is variable from study to study. So from one study to the next, the size of the effect of psycholinguistic training can vary from negative to zero to positive over a wide range.

One more point must be added. If some feature of these studies (e.g., the age of children, the experience of the trainer, the type of training materials, or the like) could be discovered to correlate substantially with a study's effect-size measure, then one would be in the comfortable position of being able to predict that psycholinguistic training will be effective here but not there, with children of this but not that type. Unfortunately, I have not found a single area of behavioral treatment in which the correlations of study features with effect size was of a magnitude that permitted useful predictions. In the behavioral sciences and education we possess a few *general* interventions of verified effectiveness (psychotherapy, teaching, psychoactive drugs, and others) that produce moderate benefits *on the average*, but benefits that vary greatly (from ineffective to very effective) in a manner that is essentially unpredictable. The social policy that is needed for the application of social science and behavioral research is policy for programs that produce generally small and highly unpredictable benefits (Glass, 1979).

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COMMENTS ON GENE GLASS

Michael Scriven

Dr. Glass' paper is an extremely useful contribution to the literature and, perhaps even more important, to every citizen's general picture of special education. I have picked up on a number of points in it, arranging them not by importance but to match the sequence of Glass' paper.

The Diagnosis Scandal

Efforts made in the past decade have somewhat improved the shockingly unscientific sloppiness of the term "schizophrenic," as used by psychiatrists, a sloppiness to which Glass makes reference early in his paper. The same period has seen a greater recognition of the even more scandalous situation in the diagnosis of handicapped children, and of "educated" children. The ultimate scandal of "graduating" illiterate children from high school is not too removed from the scandal of classifying children as handicapped in order to get extra federal or state money or because of inability to cope with them in the regular classroom, two abuses which everyone even faintly familiar with the special education scene knows to be rife. As Glass points out, they make any serious kind of research very difficult and the comparison of studies done in different locations almost impossible. But not *quite* impossible. Indeed, we learn something interesting from Glass' comparative study, namely, something about that class of children regarded by *some* researchers as being handicapped. The problem is that one greatly reduces the chances of discovering effective treatments if one dilutes a class of subjects in such a way that a large number of subjects for whom the treatment is inappropriate is almost certainly included. A number of important issues are raised by this question of how efficacy studies are confounded by a sloppy definition of the treated condition, but I simply propose a thesis that may be useful for discussion purposes:

> The discovery and demonstration of efficacious treatment will always be facilitated by using the most narrowly defined taxon that appears to have any medical or behavioral legitimacy.

Intersite vs. Intertreatment Variance

Glass mentions that in psychotherapy as well as special education we discover high intersite variance (covering interteacher, intersituation, and intergeographical location differences) compared to the average intertreatment variance. I would add that an extremely important example of this variance is in the general study of the effectiveness of teacher styles. That example reminds us that treatments interact heavily with the personality characteristics of the recipients as well as of the providers, even if the type of handicap is precisely defined. The treatment should not, probably, be thought of as appropriate to a particular handicap, but as appropriate to a particular type of student with a particular handicap; and as appropriate to a particular treatment-provider (teacher, counselor, therapist, etc.). Given that the situation is thus appalling complicated, as well as being confounded by inexcusably sloppy practice at the diagnostic end, what policy is appropriate? We may distinguish two policies that are involved: (a) service-provision and (b) appropriate research.

The appropriate research policy that I want to propose, at least for argument's sake, comprises two components: the first, the most serious search for particular cases of high success, not of a treatment in the abstract but of a treatment that is provided by a particular individual (or, if we are lucky, a group trained by a particular individual) to recipients who are chosen by that individual or by some standardized selection procedure. The second prong of the research is the meticulous analysis of these gifted service-providers in order to identify the list of characteristics which will include the magic formula. Once we have this set, that is, a set of jointly sufficient conditions for success, we can then test its sufficiency by training others to match it and checking on their success. Finally, we begin pruning the list looking for the minimum set of jointly sufficient conditions because, in general, the more the cost of training goes up the more conditions that have to be met by the trainees. These latter two steps can be called "development" or "refinement," building on the basic research.

What we particularly do not need is theory hunting or grand classification efforts built on some nebulous notion of cognitive style, type of brain damage, or the like. There is nothing wrong with reference to brain damage if brain damage is the cause of the specific handicap; what is completely inappropriate is the attempt to give a brain-damage-based general taxonomy. This statement should be obvious enough from careful thought about the nature of the term "handicap." It is analogous to the term "not running properly" applied to automobiles; of course, there is no general taxonomy for automobile disorders based upon a single underlying spectrum of style or mechanical failure; there are a hundred quite different types of fault—electrical, suspension, fuel system, cooling system, and so forth. This analogy is continued under the next heading where we look at the attempt to match treatment to handicap.

At the moment, consider the situation if the procedure for fixing an automobile "handicap" is successful only in the hands of people with certain brain waves, of an unknown kind, and in certain latitudes and longitudes, the exact limitations or these being unknown. Then we would have an approximation to this situation with respect to special education, except for one further complication: we would have to add that the history of the particular car would interact with the treatment independently of the symptoms, in such a way that it alters its efficacy significantly. These enormously powerful further complications are what make the medical model (which Glass rightly criticizes) and the automobile model (even more clearly a characterization—although a less prestigious one—of the underlying model in much special education theorizing) completely inappropriate.

Given the control of teacher personality, cultural variables, and client characteristics over whatever feeble little insights we have had about successful treatment, and given in addition the incredible distortion introduced by the diagnostic scandal, it is clearly wildly inappropriate to proceed on what I call the Mechanic's Model. We must get back to the simplest kind of investigation, of the kind outlined, in which we work out from scratch what variables are crucial. This practitioner-oriented, success-respecting approach is far further from actual practice that most practitioners realize. It is, I believe, implicit in Glass' anecdotal example and general thrust. But it can be seen from general considerations to be essential in all cases where the intersite variance is equal to or greater than the intertreatment variance at a given site.

The Matching Model

Arter and Jenkins and Kavale and Mattson have, as Glass says, effectively put the nails in the coffin of the most popular treatment ideology, that of matching the diagnosis with a particular type of teaching. Looking at the teaching style-student learning style efforts, equally fruitless, we should surely have learned something that would avoid making this mistake again.

Let's consider the analogy with the automobile mechanic. If I find that my engine is having trouble inhaling enough air to put out its usual power, I could of course treat the condition by adding a supercharger to push more air into it. This would form a nice entry in a cookbook of matching treatments to performance deficits, a kind of industrial revolution version of homeopathy. But since the failure of my engine to breathe is due to the fact that the air filter is plugged with dust, the treatment will be (a) unnecessarily expensive, (b) unreliable in its own right, and (c) eventually unsatisfactory when the filter becomes even more clogged from accelerated dust intake. Of course, sometimes this kind of approach will work; if there is not a spark in the cylinder, replacing the sparkplug is just the right thing to do. But, as the psychotherapists have long argued, symptom-reduction does not provide a long-term fix. The psychotherapists may have been wrong in their particular case but it is certainly possible that the analogous point is correct in case of special education, as it is in the case of automobile mechanics. The point is that the underlying model makes extremely serious assumptions which we have no good reason to accept; of course it is *attractive* to think that if a child is defective in performance dimension *n* then training in performance dimension *n* will improve the situation. But it may not improve it at all, it may improve it only in the short term, and much more important, the time and resource cost of that intensified treatment may produce such side effects as loss of attention in other areas which are far more serious than the gains in the treated areas. In a word, the argument for mainstreaming.

Not so incidentally, it is just as well to remember that schools serve more than an educational function, from the parents' and students' points of view. It is more sensible, in evaluating schools, not to confuse the great importance of education of the pupils with its sole importance. The other reasons for having children in school (e.g., babysitting so that their parents can work or get a breathing spell; socializing so that students can acquire friends and patterns of social behavior; and learning how to survive boredom, petty tyranny, and bureaucracy, etc.) may well be more than enough to support the existence of schools, even if they teach nothing. Serious evaluation of special education must begin at this point or else it will find little to recommend present practices. Indeed, some considerable case could be made for the bad effects, particularly in terms of the reduction in sense of responsibility, that attend upon special education classification and attention.

Implications for Training

Gene Glass gives us the story of Ms. Russell; and we can learn from it. What we learn is largely negative. What special education teachers need to learn from it is the positive side: the skills of the successful teacher. The sooner we start the process of learning by role modeling, doing research by analyzing successes (and, of course, this carries over into successful teachers of normal and gifted pupils and administrators), the sooner we are likely to be able to move in a useful direction.

Implications for Research

Although I have already outlined some general conclusions that are highly consistent with Glass', I want to make a few specific points, as much for the sake of discussion as because I think they are correct as stated.

In looking for variables that may be descriptors of successful treatments, it is as well to remember that these can be of very different ontological kinds. For example, time-on-task may turn out to be much more powerful than any handicap-specific teaching style. It is attractive, especially if one is committed to the medical model instead of a pragmatic orientation, to think that some "respect" is due to the symptomatology; in fact, the only respect that is due is to the worth of the child, above all other things, and if the handicapped child can be helped better by somebody who is an expert at maximizing time-on-task than by somebody who is an expert at tailoring treatment to diagnostic category, then it is immoral to go with the second approach. At the moment, it seems clear that time-on-task is a better bet than any tailored treatment (except that providing audible material to 100 percent blind people might reasonably be excluded as an approach). The second kind of variable that possibly deserves a special mention is the holistic measure; perhaps the morale of the classroom or group is a good example. The fact that holistic measures are somewhat intangible and undoubtedly will have to be judged by persons among whom the agreement may not be very high, is unimportant. A reasonably intelligent graduate student can see ways of handling both difficulties without committing the typical absurd mistake of the researcher who concludes that the absence of interjudge reliability implies the absence of any valid judgment, or that the absence of an operational definition excludes the presence of scientifically important variables.

Moving from these suggestions, one can envision a particular type of research which I am not sure has much of a track record as yet. We might call it "cue-hunting," that is, a search for what it is that the skilled teacher reacts to. C.A. George infers that expectations are a key variable in Ms. Russell's classroom-management technique. This is a typical nonoperationally defined holistic variable connected with the social structure of the classroom. If we have Ms. Russell look at videotapes of or actual classrooms run by other teachers, selected carefully for their representation of a range of this variable, as we interpret it, do we find her in fact scoring them high and low depending on the amount of this variable, given reasonable stability of other variables? What else does she respond to, when asked to put aside all homage to pluralism? That is, when asked what is different between a classroom she is observing and what she does and likes to see done, as opposed to what she would impose on all other teachers. Suppose Ms. Russell goes out sick; we videotape the last session of her class before she returns and show it to her. What does she react to in the scene? What does she take steps to do as soon as she is in the room again? This is where much of the great discoveries are to be made, not in trying to work out what is going on in the child's cognitive, or for that matter, perceptual system.

The second point I want to make about research is that the study of fields like special education, where the effects of the various treatments are very slight and occasional, is in a sense not a special study at all. Glass makes the point that it is probably pretty typical in the behavioral sciences. But I want to make a further point, which is that the appropriate research and practice and policy procedures here may be much nearer to correct ones than in the relatively "easy pickings" fields that many of us either inhabit or believe we inhabit. In short, if we find the right policies here (think back to the policy about narrow definition of taxons I mentioned earlier) then they will, I believe, pay off better in normal research than the sloppier policies which we can, so to speak, get away with there because of the size and simplicity of the effects.

Implications for Evaluation and Policy

I conclude with two points for discussion. Just as realistic evaluation, and policy based on it, must take into account the noneducational dimensions of the payoff from schooling, whether for handicapped, normal or gifted children, so the noneducational aspects of special education must be given careful attention. Guilt reduction is by no means the least of these and involves the guilt of parents for doing less than they feel they should at home, the guilt of teachers and administrators for doing less than they feel they should at school, and the guilt of specialists who are less successful than they feel they should be. All this guilt tends to support segregated special education or *de facto* specialized treatment. We may as well address it directly and ask ourselves whether psychotherapy for parents, teachers, and specialists rather than segregation for the children may not be the appropriate treatment. I believe that no recommendations about the abolition of ED-BT (Arter & Jenkins) will work until we address these guilt feelings directly.

Michael Scriven

It seems to me that the evaluation of special education, in particular the evaluation of mainstreaming vs. segregated instruction, and indeed the general thinking about it, simply involves making the mistake of supposing that it follows from:

> Mainstreamed children do better than children who are not mainstreamed

that:

> all handicapped children should be mainstreamed.

The two most serious flaws in this, and they are extremely serious, are, first, that it completely disregards negative effects on the other people in the mainstreamed classes, effects which everybody knows are sometimes very serious and which seem to me to have received rather limited attention; and second, the possibility that a solution that works well when a few students are mainstreamed (for them) will not work well if a large number of students are mainstreamed, because it will pull the level of instruction down below the level they would have received in segregated classes. I very much hope that future research on special education will take this kind of point more seriously. It connects up with the initial problem we discussed, that of sloppy diagnosis. Suppose that a certain proportion of children diagnosed as handicapped are actually so different that some special treatment would be better for them, but that we are actually dianosing 2x percent as falling into this category. Then we may well find that mainstreaming will yield better results for the diagnosed group, because half of them should not have been diagnosed as handicapped; but it will yield worse results for those who are in fact handicapped and who need special treatment.

The pessimist says that a 12-ounce glass containing six ounces of drink is half empty; the optimist calls it half full. I cannot say what I think the pessimist could say about research and practice in special education at this point, but I think the optimist could say that we have a wonderful opportunity to start all over! I hope that the Wingspread Conference will be remembered as an important step toward the new start.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION: A SYSTEM TO MEET ITS NEEDS

Robert B. Howsam

Whether from a national or world perspective American public schools must be viewed as one of mankind's greatest all-time endeavors. That it has fallen from grace over the last quarter century and, in particular, over the last decade is evident, however. In this it is not alone among institutions, but that is a small consolation. Because much of the nation's way of life has been built around it, all citizens, directly or indirectly, have a stake in its well-being. Every possible effort should be put forth to know its conditions, understand its situation, and take such actions as are necessary to restore it to health and effectiveness. No other institution now existing or likely to be created has or is likely to have the capacity to solve the nagging problems which our society, past and present, has created for children, youth, and, particularly, those who experience handicapping conditions.

In his 1978 report as President of the Carnegie Corporation Alan Pifer pleaded for the protection of children.

> No nation, and especially not this one at this stage in its history, can afford to neglect its children. Whatever importance we attach as a people to expenditures on armaments, to programs for older Americans, to maintaining high levels of consumption and to a hundred other purposes, the welfare of children has to be our highest priority. Not only are they our future security, but their dreams and ideals can provide a much-needed renaissance of spirit in what is becoming an aging, tired, and disillusioned society. In the end the *only* thing we have is our young people. If we fail them, all else is in vain (p. 11).

From a societal point of view the one common effort that is put forth in behalf of children is the educational system, upon which our highest hopes have rested. Unfortunately, it is showing strong evidence of aging, fatigue from being overburdened, and disillusionment from its failures and the loss of its earlier enthusiastic support and high level of public trust. We have little reason for hope or expectation of a renaissance of spirit in the rising generation if its school experience is less than fulfilling. Short of the necessity of sheer survival, no program for the 1980s exceeds in urgency the need to reconstruct and revitalize the American system of common education.

> . . . contemporary educational critics on both the right and the left agree on one thing: all is not well in the schools. Not only are schools not going to be allowed to rest on their laurels, but in a time when public education is being attacked from every side, there are no laurels left to rest on (ERIC, 1980, p. 1).

Nor is there any basis for attributing blame to the school systems for whatever may or may not be happening in the schools. Despite generations of change schools have been altered only cosmetically. Unless they were almost divinely inspired in their original form, changes in the broader society almost by definition would have ensured the inadequacy of our schools by now. In fact, an initially simple and unsophisticated system has been allowed or forced to grow in size, complexity, and responsibility but not to make adequate adaptive changes.

During this period, according to Max Lerner, the schools were "receivers in bankruptcy" because other institutions failed in the exercise of their functions. Schools have been charged with many other functions, such as racial integration, not previously carried out by any other institution. Thus there is little point in either blaming or exonerating the victim or the perpetrators. The challenge is to make the schools responsive to the needs that exist and are assigned to them.

In 1968, then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John Gardner delivered the commencement address at Cornell University. Under the guise of historical fancy he had man creating institutions and making strong demands which the institutions could not meet. He commented on the frustration so caused as follows:

> Men can tolerate extraordinary hardship if they think it is an unalterable part of life's travail. But an administered frustration—unsanctioned by religion or custom or deeply rooted values—is more than the spirit can bear. So increasingly men rage at their institutions. All kinds of men rage at all kinds of institutions, here and all over the world.

In his projection, the raging brought down the institutions and created a new dark age from which there was gradual recovery. Ultimately—300 years later—when historians are trying to reconstruct what happened, one conclusion is as follows:

> . . . If society is going to release aspirations for institutional change—which is precisely what many twentieth-century societies deliberately did—then it had better be sure its institutions are capable of such change. In this respect they found the twentieth century sadly deficient (Gardner, 1968).

Gardner's remarks appear to be highly relevant to schools. The aspirations for education have been high but the capacity and resources for meeting them have been inadequate. Still to be confronted is the issue of whether schools are capable of meeting either expectations or needs, especially when those are heightened or increased.

The title of Gardner's address reveals his thesis that two kinds of people contribute to destroying institutions: "Uncritical lovers" fail to make objective analyses and necessary adjustments whereas "unloving critics" take advantage of weaknesses to undermine the system. The message is clear. Only supporters can make the adjustments necessary to continued effectiveness. Critics may spur them on and heighten their resolve or discourage and disillusion them.

EDUCATION: A FLAWED SYSTEM

The American system of education is composed of many elements, each serving some purpose and making some contribution. It has developed over time and maintains itself in a steady state or dynamic equilibrium by interaction between and among the elements. Each is constrained by, conditioned by, or dependent on the state of the other units (Miller, 1978). Thus no unit is responsible solely for conditions within itself, other units, or the total system. If major change or regeneration is needed, attention must be given at least to all the major or critical elements.

The education system has developed over time in response to prevailing conditions and forces. Unfortunately, the system lacks a substantial capacity to respond to the challenges that it now faces. We need to deliberately redesign the system to take into account current conditions. Failure to do so with some sense of urgency will put the system as we know it at risk and result in piecemeal improvisation with catastrophic consequences. The piecemeal approach is the one that has been used with such disappointing results.

SOLUTIONS OR ALTERNATIVES

The problems of our schools may be either partly alleviated or greatly exacerbated in the future by changing social conditions. Predictions for the near future generally are negative. Whichever the direction, however, the problems will not go away by themselves.

In the absence of major changes in the system it unfortunately seems more probable at this time that there will be major defections from support of the existing system and large-scale resort to other systems by people who have the resources to do so. The further such processes are allowed to go the more difficult and unlikely recovery will be. The option of withdrawal from the use of public schools and resort to private alternatives is built into the rights of citizens and well established in both custom and law. Since the separate but equal principle was broken by the 1954 *Brown* decision, the establishment of private, usually church-related, "academies" and schools has been widespread, especially across the south (Nevin & Bills, 1976, *Time,* 1981). Catholic private schools, long the main alternative to public schools, have reversed their decline in enrollment. Currently, about one in 10 students is being accommodated in one or another form of private schooling. Not clear at this time is the effect of public school efforts to provide different forms of schooling within local systems.

Cosmopolitan or Tribal

Education in early America, as in other cultures, was village or community based. The school was a primary institution serving the local community along with the other primary institutions of home and church.

Its purpose was to preserve and transmit culture; it was change resistant. The teacher was an agent and a part of the culture. Such materials of instruction as there were reinforced local ways. The great success of the McGuffey readers, for example, lay in their contents which were broadly acceptable across America. (Some fundamentalist schools now are using these historic books; *Time,* 1981.) Their intent and effect were tribal as opposed to cosmopolitan or global.

American schools did not remain tribal or village in orientation. They changed as society changed. More and more the influence of primary institutions gave way to that of secondary institutions. Transportation, communication, congregation in cities, and other influences made the "global village" the dominant reality. As people became more congregative, more mobile, more influenced by secondary rather than primary institutions, their horizons broadened and life space enlarged. Forced to accommodate the diversity in their students, schools no longer were able to limit instruction to the various tribal values and family beliefs. Broader value systems had to be adopted. (The struggle of the Hutterite communities to maintain their ways of life is instructive in this regard; they chose to resist and to continue a tribal model.)

These emergent conditions were pursued excitedly by American society and the schools. They were not without problems, however, and under current stresses the problems have re-emerged with vigor. Margaret Mead (1974) highlighted a major issue.

> Teachers cannot—if they would—give up their role as the official instruments of change. Nor can they, however much they would, completely assuage the anxiety which this role arouses in the hearts of parents who are forced to entrust their children to them. . . .
>
> Are the children not only to be led into a strange world, but led there by someone who is [in their view] morally irresponsible? (p. 381).

Many issues are related to schools' effectiveness. Others, however, are related to the influences on children of both instruction and the general conditions of schools as an environment for children. When the school system addresses its problem it will have to keep in mind the distinct trend toward retribalization, toward we-they distinctions (e.g., the constant reminders of the "moral majority").

Suboptimal Institutions

From their beginnings to the present schools in America have been suboptimal institutions. This is to say that they never have had a reasonable opportunity to achieve what was expected of them and what they aspired to do. In simpler times the primitive institution met the needs of the society reasonably well, largely because it had the back-up support of the other primary institutions (home, church) in the intimate setting of community. Too, it was permitted to serve only compliant clients; those who did not get along well in either learning or behavior could drop out or be dropped out. School learning was not considered to be essential for everyone; children were economic assets at home, and there were many ways of getting along without formal education.

Such an approach to educational opportunity was rooted in the beliefs of the times and religion. The individual was responsible and accountable. If he (a female's opportunities were even more limited) failed to make opportunity or take advantage of what was available it was his responsibility and one that he could not transfer to the people who tried to help him. There was, in those earlier times, little awareness or acceptance of the part that sociological, cultural, and economic influences played in the disposition of an individual's life, of the system of forces that fashion the individual. Such insights were for the twentieth century. As they emerged, new concepts of responsibility were fashioned: The individual had the right to a chance and others had the responsibility to provide the opportunity.

The new demands on society and the school derived directly from this movement (and from the growing importance of formal education), particularly when issues of human rights reached the courts. From the time of the *Brown* decision, courts increasingly took into account the social and cultural conditions that were handicapping to individuals and insisted that efforts be made by governments and institutions to overcome those handicaps. Unequal conditions required compensatory opportunities.

Use of the principle of *exclusion*, that is, keeping out of the schools those children who presented the most difficult problems, persisted throughout the first 300 years of public school history. Compulsory education laws eventually made its use less widespread. At the same time, such laws officially constituted the school as a custodial institution (one which the clientele are required to attend) with all the challenges and problems that the condition engenders. Under the compulsory attendance mandate more sophisticated methods of exclusion were initiated. Special education, intended for handicapped students, increasingly became the depository for learning-reluctant and behavior-problem children. Multiple track systems sorted students by ability or performance. Vocational education relieved academic instruction. And suspension and expulsion were resorted to when behavioral compliance was a severe problem. Each mechanism was designed to restrict the range of problems which a teacher had to face. In the interest of all students and teachers, teachable groups had to be maintained and the conditions necessary for effective teaching and learning had to be preserved; otherwise, all suffered.

From the *Brown* decision in 1954 to the present, however, the principle of exclusion has been challenged and its use progressively restricted. Rejection of the segregated system of education for black children led to desegregation, court-ordered integration, school busing, and other problems, however, Subsequently, attention shifted to culturally different groups with emphasis on multicultural and bilingual education. Public

Law 94-142 mandated schools to mainstream students with learning handicaps into regular classrooms, to the extent feasible for them, and to provide a contractual individual educational plan for each.

Although they are thoroughly defensible as a matter of public policy, these actions impacted heavily on school systems. One is reminded of the admonition to "be sure that [the] institutions are capable of such change" (Gardner, 1968). There is every reason to believe that schools were not designed to handle the whole range of educational problems in regular classrooms, even when special services are added. In consequence, both regular students and those with handicapping conditions lose out. Role load and stress problems are created for teachers and morale problems are introduced. At the same time the public is given ever more legitimate reasons for "raging" at their institutions or defecting from the system. They achieve the latter by removing their families to communities that, by design or accident of development, have a low incidence of such problems, or by seeking tribally protected private schools. In either case the result is a higher proportion of problems and a less tenable situation in the schools they leave behind.

Three conclusions can be drawn with considerable certainty:

1. Handicapped and educationally disadvantaged children and youth will not and should not be dispossessed of their gains or satisfied to just hold the ground they have gained.

2. When the introduction of new responsibilities lowers the capacity of public schools to maintain or improve the conditions necessary to effective teaching and learning, the option for alternative education will be increasingly exercised; so too will be the support for public economic relief for those persons who exercise their option for alternative education.

3. People will not forego the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for *their* children to be educated and have access to all the advantages that such an opportunity gives in our society.

The situation seems to resolve itself into a choice between solutions to the problems that presently confront the public educational system or resort to alternatives that, for many persons, would be disadvantageous if not disastrous and would change the face of American society, for better or worse.

Recently, Alberta, a Canadian province, commissioned a study of conditions supportive of effective education because one of its major cities, Calgary, and the province itself, were perceived to be in trouble. The Commission made extensive use of literature generated in the United States in arriving at what it termed "Some Generalizations." They seem particularly relevant here:

> 1. The time a teacher devotes to formal instruction (classtime) and to essential, instruction-related activities (preparation, evaluation, counseling, tutoring, consultation) has a decisive impact on pupil development.
> 2. The fewer the number of pupils for whom a teacher is responsible, the greater the potential for pupil development.

3. The greater the diversity of pupil profiles (educational, social, and behavioral characteristics) in a class, the lower the potential for pupil development.
4. Teacher stress and dissatisfaction is directly proportional to the number of pupils taught and the range of their profiles.
5. The climate within the school and the system has an indirect yet strong influence on pupil development (p. 96).

The Fact Finding Commission addressed itself to situational variables that influence the effectiveness of teachers. Not addressed under terms of the charge was the question of what difference the preparation and competence of teachers make. That this is a fundamental issue is readily agreed among educators.

Effective schools demand strong teachers working in situations where the conditions for learning and teaching are favorable. Our school systems have never come close to meeting such conditions, and the situation has been exacerbated by the developments of the past three decades. Most serious of all, perhaps, is the problem of properly trained and educated teachers.

THE PROFESSIONS

In any area of human service an essential is personnel with the trained capacity to perform the services. After that the need is for a situation within which the services can be effectively and efficiently performed. In professional service areas these two conditions result in the establishment of two components:

1. The profession and related support personnel that provide the services.
2. The delivery institutions within which client and professional practitioner are brought together and the services are performed under the most favorable possible conditions.

Although they are highly interactive the two components exist separately. In the case of education this results in (a) the teaching profession(s) and (b) the schools, with each a complex system in its own right.

Quality education depends upon each system being properly organized and developed and properly interrelated. When the school system appears to be functioning inadequately it is appropriate to examine each component and the relations between them for possible flaws, ineffectiveness, or inefficiency. Such an examination at this time yields strong reason to suspect that both the teaching profession and the school system are in need of redesign and redevelopment. Clearly, the systems and their interrelations are markedly different from those in other areas of professional service; they deviate markedly from what students of the professions consider to be sound principle and practice. This suggests the need for serious study and corrective action, particularly in light of the crisis situation that confronts the schools.

Professions are variously defined by different authorities in the sociology of occupation although there is substantial agreement on the basic features. Each deals with one area of essential human need (health, freedom, education) for which it is given societal responsibility. The critical criterion, however, is the possession of the expertise necessary to perform professional responsibilities. The Commission on Education for the Profession of Teaching described this expertise as follows:

> 3. The profession collectively, and the professional individually, possesses a body of knowledge and a repertoire of behaviors and skills (professional culture) needed in the practice of the profession; such knowledge, behavior, and skill normally are not possessed by the non-professional.

It went on to add,

> 4. The members of the profession are involved in decision making in the service of the client, such decisions being made [and implemented] in accordance with the most valid knowledge available, against a background of principles and theories, and within the context of possible impact on other related conditions or decisions (Howsam, Corrigan, Denemark, & Nash, 1976, p. 6).

Cyril Houle (1980) described this characteristic as "They are deeply versed in advanced and subtle bodies of knowledge" (p. 12).

The complexity of the knowledge and skills required and the decision-making and implementation responsibilities demand extended preparation programs, usually on college or university campuses, and, in the case of mature professions, lead to a practitioner's doctoral degree (e.g., M.D.; O.D.; J.D.). On completion of an approved program that includes some form of internship the candidates take board-type examinations. If and when successful they are licensed by the state and may practice the profession subject to its standard of ethics and practice.

Because of the complex knowledge and technical bases integral to the practice of professions, society grants to each profession the right and responsibility of governing its own affairs in the public interest. It is declared by legislation to be a profession and given the rights, privileges, and responsibilities pertaining thereto. A professional board is established for that purpose. Preparation program standards, licensure recommendation, ethical practice, and other such matters are placed in its hands. In the past, lay citizens were excluded from such boards on the grounds that they lacked the necessary expertise to participate. Recently, there has been some reversal of this practice as interest groups and legislatures have tried to make the boards more responsive to public need. The basic principle of professional autonomy in technical matters has not thereby been reversed, however.

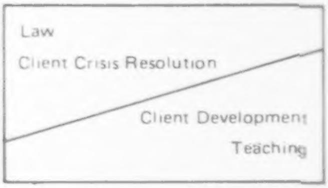
Professions are universal phenomena with national flavors; state legislatures delegated their control largely to the professions as they are organized. In the public interest they need to be free to quest endlessly to improve practice and knowledge. Therefore they do not lend themselves to folk-wisdom limitations. By their nature they have two sources of authority:

1. The right to practice in any given situation is conferred by the client or an employer acting on behalf of clients.
2. The *how* of practice is derived from the profession and from law, where relevant. The client is provided only those options which the profession accepts while the practitioner is accountable to the profession for competence and ethical behavior.

Often not recognized by those persons who compare and contrast the various professions is the extent to which they are predominately *crisis* or *developmental* in their day-to-day practice. All professions have both dimensions, which may be represented graphically by horizontal and vertical lines, but they vary markedly in their emphases (see Fig. 1). Medicine and law may properly be viewed as high in crisis intervention whereas teaching would be perceived primarily as developmental. Because developmental professions are much more subject to client negotiation, folk-wisdom, and personal opinion or preference interventions, professional authority is weakened. The on-going nature of services tends to make the more developmental professions highly institutionalized and administered. Schools and institutionalized nursing care appear to be of this type, and this situational variable impacts heavily on these professsions.

Figure 1

Emphasis in Two Professions



Teaching as a Profession

Occupational sociologists, using the characteristics of professions as criteria, classify professions in a hierarchy, such as the following:

Older or full professions: medicine, law, academic, clerical.
Newer professions: engineering, architecture.
Emergent professions: social work.
Semiprofessions: teaching.
Unrecognized pretenders (Howsam et al., 1976, pp. 6-9).

Commonly they categorize teaching as the best single example of a semiprofession (Etzioni, 1969). Though members of the profession can quarrel with some details and some interpretations, the classification of teaching as a semiprofession at this time cannot be seriously denied.

On the other hand, teaching by its very nature is a professional act. In addition, developments in research over the past decade have brought teaching to within striking distance of the main criterion of professions from which all other criteria eventually derive and upon which all rest: the possession of a validated body of knowledge and repertoire of behaviors and skills that are required of all practitioners as the basis for practice. A strong case can be made that an adequate base already exists and that it will be constantly strengthened over the years ahead (Coker, Medley, & Soar, 1980; Denemark & Nelli, 1980; Denham & Lieberman, 1980; Kratzmann et al., 1980; National Support Systems Project, 1980; Smith, 1980). Those who are skeptical or outright disbelievers are so on the grounds of the adequacy of the validation, the tightness of the coupling of research and practice which is necessary before practitioners should be asked to pay serious attention to the base. When rigor is imposed little can be said with confidence about effective strategies of instruction. Other students of the profession are much more impressed and confident. They recognize the relatively loose coupling but believe that the nature of teaching defies prescriptive findings and leaves to the teacher the task of using the *enlarged repertoire* in the sensitive and creative act of teaching. Teachers understand such limitations and would not believe high levels of certainty in research findings.

It seems plausible too that those professions that are primarily developmental are less able to be definitive about the appropriate intervention at any point in the on-going developmental process. This in no way alleviates the responsibility, however; it gives a longer time perspective and more alternatives.

Arguments aside, every profession owes to its practitioners as complete as possible a repertoire of knowledge, behaviors, and skills which they can use to give direction to their work. Not to provide this repertoire is to force them to depend upon the knowledge and skill they learn from experience.

A far greater problem for the teaching profession than the insufficient validation of professional knowledge is the absence of any strong tendency to want or use it, even when it is readily available. This lack also may be characteristic of developmental professions. There is a strongly entrenched tendency to teach as one has been taught (modeling) and as one has learned on the job (personal experience) (Lortie, 1975; Pigge, 1978). It is believed that little is learned from teacher education, other teachers, or the supervisory efforts of principals and supervisors. Given this attitude, the establishment of a professional basis from examination and research will be delayed, frustrated and denied.

Undoubtedly some of this behavior can be attributed to the state of the art in the teaching profession, but it no longer can be so explained entirely. At least some of the influence must be sociocultural. Primary institutions and professions tend to live uncomfortably together. They generate tensions because one is culture preservative and change resistant whereas the other is change oriented. From their childhood and school days teachers may have learned the futility of risk taking within the context of school and community where protests against actions tend to carry more weight than proposals for action. They may have learned, too, that administrators and school boards are sensitive to criticism and community dissent and think more kindly of teachers who leave them free of trouble.

Recruits to teacher education generally have not been the most secure persons or the risk takers. They have been predominately upward mobiles of lower socio-economic status and first-generation professionals. To date the teaching profession has shown little ability to protect such people from community disapproval even though they as teachers may be perceived as both competent and right.

It is likely that the failure to clearly delineate public and professional functions also has contributed to the delay in building genuine expertise in teachers and confidence in that expertise. Tension between citizens and teachers more often arises over *what* is taught rather than *how* it is taught. Rightly or wrongly, the public, through state boards of education and local school boards, controls both curriculum and textbook selection. The strategies of instruction, however, properly are the province of the profession and teachers. The distinctions between *what* and *how* should be kept as precise as possible. Further, the profession ought to negotiate more latitude for teachers and more public understanding of the difficulties teachers face when students identify with the global and space village while their families identify narrowly with the tribal or village perspective and want to set limits for everyone.

In any event, and whatever the causes, to date there has been little progress in the widespread professionalization of teachers. The conditions out of which this tendency arises deserve concentrated attention.

The Organized Teaching Profession

Professions, in order to institutionalize their services to society, must be organized. Teaching has a long history of organization: The National Education Association dates back to 1857. Countless other organizations representing teachers generally (e.g., the American Federation of Teachers) and specialists within teaching by levels taught, subject areas, services (e.g., guidance), and other distinctions (e.g., administration) have developed.

Given that most teachers are employees rather than in private practice, their organizations tend to be preoccupied with union-type concerns, such as salaries and conditions of work. They also try to represent the education profession in matters of public policy. The many special interest organizations often are at odds with each other and with the general membership over matters of special interest.

Of greatest concern is the fact that at national, state, and local levels the organized profession has made little headway in winning the prerogatives of self-governance and regulation that characterize other professions. It is not that efforts have not been made.

In 1971 the N.E.A. developed a model bill for the use of state associations in their pursuit of legislation to establish teaching as a profession. The goal was vigorously pursued for a time but then the pressure seems to have been relaxed. California and Oregon passed professional practices legislation and each established a board or commission with substantial autonomy. A majority of the other states have boards but they have limited powers under the state boards of education; the legislatures did not give them autonomy. Thus, for all practical purposes state boards of education and state departments of education make and administer policy relating to the teaching profession, such as criteria for teacher education, licensure/certification, and professional practices. The organized profession may have influence but it does not have control and responsibility.

The same state board and agency are responsible for all aspects of the public school system in the state. This may be the greatest single factor in the failure of the teaching profession to mature. Whenever the interests of the teaching profession or teacher education conflict with those of the schools there is a strong tendency for the interests of the schools to be served. If, for example, there is a shortage of teachers in a given area permission is given to employ teachers on emergency certificates. The very authorization of such certificates attests to the semiprofessional status of teaching and downgrades it as a profession. At a minimum it says that anyone can teach, whether professionally prepared or not.

Similar problems exist in the accreditation of teacher-education programs for which the state board of education is responsible. Customarily, almost every four-year college in a state offers a program of teacher education which has state approval. Some programs may have as few as a single professor of education. Politics, funding arrangements, interests of other programs in universities, and other factors combine to eliminate rigor in the program-approval process.

At the national level great progress has been made by the NCATE since the mid-1970s in strengthening the national accrediting process. The process now includes the strong representation of teachers and considerable rigor. Unfortunately, in the presence of mandatory state-accrediting processes NCATE remains voluntary and unable to touch nonparticipating institutions, which often are of greatest concern.

Clearly, the education system needs a strong teaching profession and appropriate mechanisms for participation in the governance of its own affairs. Anything less will tend toward continuance of a semiprofession and suboptimal school conditions.

TEACHER EDUCATION

In his introduction to the 1974 N.S.S.E. yearbook on *Teacher Education* the editor wrote,

> One common theme emerges from a number of the chapters: teacher education has burst its bounds. The task of preparing teachers for today's schools exceeds the resources, that is, time, money, and personnel which society has allocated. Further, the preparation of teachers is imbedded in an institution, higher education, in such a way that little serious improvement is possible (Ryan, 1975, p. xii).

Probably a more accurate statement would be that teacher education is straining at its bonds and, in the interest of schools, society, and the teaching profession, those bounds or bonds must be broken.

Teacher education was brought to the United States from Europe in 1839 when Horace Mann started the first "normal school," an institution especially designed to prepare teachers for the burgeoning common schools. Secondary school teachers at that time were not in great demand and were recruited from academic programs in universities but without benefit of pedagogy. Over the remainder of that century teacher education grew in the normal schools and, also, was introduced to universities as courses for secondary teachers. In the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries, normal schools increasingly became teachers' colleges and, eventually, state universities. Almost all colleges and universities established programs, schools, or colleges of education. By 1972-3, some 38 percent of all undergraduates in the nation's universities were in teacher education (Clark & Marker, 1975). Within less than a decade enrollment dropped to a quarter of its peak level as a surplus of teachers developed, the equal rights for women movement opened up all avenues of education and employment to them, and the impact of other social and economic factors was felt.

Teacher education's half to three-quarters of a century experience on campuses can scarcely be termed years of glory, unless glory is quantified in terms of students. It has been disdained, exploited, and constrained during the entire period, and disadvantaged systematically.

Higher education is inherently uncomfortable with professional schools and the discomfort increases as the hierarchical ranking of the profession decreases. The semiprofessions tend not to fare well on the campus, a condition they share with lower order disciplines. Teaching has been in a most unfortunate position. Because its practitioners teach subject areas, they are highly dependent upon courses in the arts and sciences for two-thirds to three-quarters of their academic requirements. The faculty members teaching those courses, however, often manifest disdain for elementary and secondary school teaching. Education professors are left with about one-quarter of the bachelor-degree credit hours within which to develop the "professional culture of teaching." This situation is highly constraining in the instructional modes which education faculties can use. In this sense it has burst its bonds more than any other professional school. In the decade of the 1970s research and development activities rapidly expanded the knowledge and skills base of teaching while, at the same time, an array of new and vastly more effective modes of instruction was developed, tested, and demonstrated. The continuation of severely limited instructional time and financial resources prevented the use of these instructional modes—protocols, simulation, laboratory exercises, clinics, and internships—and led to frustration with the forced continuation of lectures, field experiences, and student teaching. Concurrently the challenges to teachers in the schools grew more serious year by year.

When normal schools merged with or emerged as universities it was not without concern and trepidation on the part of both teacher educators and representatives of the disciplines. The one feared loss of control and the other loss of academic respectability. Agreements were made. One was that teacher preparation would be "an all-university responsibility." On the surface this agreement recognized the obvious: that teachers were both academics and professionals and the whole university had to participate in their education. A more skeptical view might be that it was a power move to ensure that the academics would be in the majority and would have control.

Whatever the intent, that situation became the reality. All-university teacher-education councils were established and made responsible for recommending programs and requirements. On many campuses teacher education as such lost control of its own destiny. Campus control and state certification requirements prescribed what was to be done. Academic professors, through both their universities and associations, actively pursued their interests and opposed the professional interests in politics as well as influence.

Coincidentally this all-university-function phenomenon may have driven education to emphasize graduate studies in which the colleges are permitted more freedom to initiate and control. Even here, however, they have been driven into the arms of the graduate schools and required to retain academic rather than the professional controls.

The impact of all-university control has continued and has been effective in keeping emphasis on the subject-matter preparation of teachers (this need rarely, if ever, is denied by professionals) and minimizing pedagogy.

> There is simply no doubt that the decision has been made to consider teacher education in the college or university as just another undergraduate major for students . . . teacher education is a service for undergraduates akin to an intramural program.
>
> . . . The credentialing of the prospective student has been adjusted so that, at the secondary level, it interferes not at all with meeting general education requirements and establishing an arts and sciences major and minor (Clark & Marker, 1975, pp. 76-77).

When policy calls for containing teacher education within a bachelor degree program, and when up to 80 percent of that program is pre-empted by the academic faculty, the teacher-education program can only suffer from constraint. It is condemned to superficiality, lower order instructional strategies, and lack of appreciation from both its students and employers.

One obvious answer is to broaden the program life space to the extent necessary for effectiveness, just as all other fully established professions have done. This approach is being proposed and promoted at this time. The obstacles are substantial, however. Many colleges and universities that are involved directly in teacher education lack the proper conditions for a four-year, let alone five- or six-year program. Their existence is threatened by the proposal which, in turn, means political opposition. Public school systems and state boards of education also are wary of any proposal that would raise the qualifications of teachers because it would have serious economic implications for students and reduce the degrees of freedom in employing teachers which they have preserved over the years. If past history gives any clues, strong resistance may be anticipated from the academic personnel of higher education institutions and, perhaps, from state boards of higher education. Finally, teacher organizations are not uniformly committed to higher levels of preparation nor agreed upon how they should be achieved.

Nonetheless the press to provide teachers with the available professional culture is strong. The schools are in desperate need of the relief offered by personnel with the trained capacity to deal with the conditions there. The lack of trust in such expertise, however, and of desire to pursue it is perplexing.

Regardless of the difficulties, awareness is growing of the necessity to expand the "life space" available for teacher preparation. Professional organizations of teachers are urging the increase of program requirements and credit hours. Teacher-education organizations, notably, the Association of Colleges and Schools of Education in State Universities and Land Grant Colleges and Associated Private Universities, are committing themselves to six-year programs inclusive or exclusive of a year of internship in schools. Some of the member institutions are initiating such programs on their own and risking the marketplace hazard of the poor program driving out the good.

To support new programs, the promoters of upgrading teacher education are pointing out that the time given to teaching pedagogy is only a fraction of the time other professions give to educating and training their inductees. Smith and Street (1980) reported that a recent study in Florida, which may be considered as representative, showed that teacher-training programs have been held almost constant in preparation time from 1929 to 1979 whereas other professions generally have shown moderate to large increases in requirements. In concluding their report the authors pointed out that barbers are required to take 1,500 clock hours of instruction before they may sit for their licensing examination. This period exceeds the hours that a secondary teacher is required to spend in the professional teacher-education program! Other trades have similar requirements for apprentice programs. Full professions require a minimum of six years of university work.

It can be only a matter of time before it is realized that teachers capable of meeting the growing challenges of the public schools cannot be prepared within the limits of the traditional four-year college programs. Sooner or later it will be recognized that, unlike the other professions, teaching is two professions rather than one because the teacher is *both* academic and professional. It is this unique dual requirement that strains the bonds of four-year programs beyond tolerance.

Not only is teacher education handicapped in credit-hour allocation but, also, it gets the lowest level of funding. Pesau and Orr (1980), in a continuing series of studies of funding in large institutions, have found that it is common practice for states to fund teacher-education programs at the lowest level, and for universities to provide teacher education with less funding than it generates. They reported,

> In 1977-8 it cost only $927 to instruct a teacher education candidate in the U.S. That was less than half the average cost of collegiate instruction. It was even less than the average in public K-12 schools, which was $1,400 (p. 100).

Appignani (1981) commented, "While the average annual cost of a students' medical education is $20,000, the average cost of teacher education is less than ten percent of that figure" (p. 129). Clearly, quality teacher preparation cannot be had at the price that states and institutions are currently willing to pay.

It is natural for a college that serves a semiprofession and is low in university status to seek to enhance that status. Thus, colleges of education, which may be organized like professional schools, identify with the academic units and take on, at least superficially, the attributes of the academic community. Subsequently, a college may find itself hoist with its own petard: Faculty members must adhere to academic standards for promotion and tenure, standards that emphasize research at the expense of teaching and service—the two areas that are critical to colleges of education. In addition, developmental work is downgraded in value, with the consequence that instruction gravitates toward the conventional, and the very quality for which education professors should be known—outstanding and innovative modes of teaching—fails to appear. This condition does not go unnoticed by students, teachers in the profession, or the university.

In imitation of the academic disciplines, education continues to use the academic degree pattern and is trapped in the academic processes of review and approval. Bachelor, master's and doctoral degrees are offered as opposed to the professional doctorate (M.D., O.D., J.D., and, ultimately, for teachers, T.D.). Teachers are graduated and enter into service with a bachelor degree in almost all states. They go forth with the enjoinder that they are underprepared and must continue on to a master's degree if they want a permanent certificate. Nevertheless, in the classroom they are given full responsibility for a group of students from the first day on; furthermore, no distinction is made in expectations and responsibilities between them and teachers who have higher degrees and more experience. What distinguishes new teachers is the additional burden of night classes and summer schools during difficult years. One would expect education professionals to declare such conditions intolerable.

None speaks to the teacher of earning a doctorate. Advanced degrees generally are for superintendents of schools, specialist-area consultants, such as school psychologists, and would-be teacher educators and professors. Thus, the practitioner openly is rated as semiprofessional.

The disparity in training and education between practitioners and professors, which is not found in mature professions where all members have a doctoral degree, is a major problem in working out effective campus-field collaboration in the preparation of teachers. Not having shared in the full professional culture with the non-doctoral practitioners of the profession, college professors have difficulty recognizing the ability of practitioners to contribute to trainees' field experiences or on-campus instruction. Mutual respect is not thereby engendered.

Teacher education and the teaching profession are suffering from severe disadvantage in the talent marketplace. The evidence is the dramatic decline in the quality of students entering and graduating from teacher education.

> The problem has already had a very disturbing effect. Schools, colleges and departments of education are now selecting potential educators from among the least academically talented populations applying for college admission. The decline in academic skills evident in the applicant pool extends from enrolled freshmen to graduating seniors who majored in teacher education (Weaver, 1981, pp. 50-51).

Weaver's data include various indicators of quality that leave little room for question.

It is doubtful that any simple change in teacher education or its selection processes would have a major impact on this trend. The problems are deep rooted in society, schools, the profession, colleges and universities, and the economic system. Schools were seriously damaged when they lost their ready access to the female section of the talent pool. From 1969 to 1979 the percentage of freshmen women choosing teacher education dropped from 38 percent to just over 10 percent. During the same period the proportion selecting business, medicine or dentistry, law, and engineering approximately tripled (*Chronicle of Higher Education,* 1979). This shift alone could account for much of the drop. Economic conditions in teaching are a major factor, particularly in relation to income levels in other professions and the major trades. Conditions in the public schools, such as violence, assaults on teachers, burnout, and the increasing difficulty finding satisfaction make young people weigh carefully their choices.

One conclusion seems justifiable: Unless talent can be recruited, thoroughly prepared, and placed in situations where satisfaction can be achieved the schools will face a crescendo of dissatisfaction and disaffection. Any option other than professionalization seems to have little independent capacity to improve the situation.

I do not mean to represent the quality of teachers, their preparation, or the conditions under which they work as the only significant variable in school effectiveness (Boocock, 1976). I maintain, rather, that in common with all areas of professional human service endeavors the education enterprise will do best what it is asked to do when the talent required is prepared to the highest possible level in the most effective ways.

THE GOVERNMENT

Under the U.S. Constitution the federal government is not responsible for education. Under the general welfare clause, however, it has the power to intercede, a right that it has long exercised. More than any other source it has been responsible for breaking the exclusionary principle. In so doing it sought to correct the injustices of exclusion to minority groups and to provide compensatory opportunity for people who had been disadvantaged thereby. In so doing it forced society to come to grips with its concepts of legality, morality, and humanity. Professional educators can do nothing but laud such efforts because they accord with our professional commitments and ethics.

To the extent, however, that the federal establishment upsets and overloads the educational system, it must accept its share of responsibility for present conditions. To place burdens of the magnitude of such programs as Title I, Public Law 94-142, desegregation, and bilingual education upon schools and teachers without ensuring their capacity to handle them is to risk the whole education enterprise. It invites breakdown of the system and the disillusionment and rage of the public. A Machiavellian plotter could not do it better.

For the most part the federal authorities have ignored the centrality of teachers and teacher education and made sparse provision for research on teaching and effective schooling. In the late 1960s the Elementary Models Project made a notable contribution by setting in motion significant developments. The TTT program for a time provided direct assistance to selected teacher-education programs. Protocols for teacher training were developed. More recently the National Support Systems Project, as part of the Office of Special Education program of grants to deans of colleges of education to revise teacher-preparation programs, has provided technical assistance to colleges to facilitate changes. R&D Centers have pursued research on teaching and the Teacher Corps, a program to train inner city education personnel, has persisted long beyond the usual life of teacher-education projects. Teacher Centers, on the other hand, were diverted away from the support of teacher education.

Considering the magnitude of the need for a vastly upgraded teaching profession and teacher education, the federal contribution has been disappointing. This is particularly true in light of the responsibility that was incurred by federal intervention into previously relatively stable school systems. The government's first acts should have been to assure the development of expertise through research, development, and basic teacher preparation.

The Federal Courts

The federal courts, which are responsible for interpreting the Constitution and the law and ensuring that their spirit and intent are followed, frequently acts as the nation's conscience. The last 25 years has seen the notable exercise of this responsibility. However, courts do not have the means for action; at best, they only can order others to act. When Congress, state legislatures, and local authorities fail to act the courts may be called into play. They can order actions which are based on law and principle, but the orders need not attend to momentary practicality.

Governance is best when it is carried out through governance mechanisms. Then the ideal or desirable is mediated through political, social, and economic processes and results, usually, not in the best among all possibilities but in the best possible at the time. Under court order the address to problems is direct but the solution often may have to be indirect. If the problem of schools is rooted in their organization or in the quality or preparation of personnel, forcing the system to assume responsibilities that add to its problems only leads to the deterioration of the system, at least in the short run. Bilingual education and mainstreaming with individual education programs are examples. Bilingual teachers and regular education teachers with knowledge of handicapping conditions simply were not available; nor were the class size and other conditions necessary to the successful implementation of bilingual and mainstream education (see generalization on the diversity of pupil profiles in Kratzmann et al., 1980). Resources went into the implementation of the mandates. Crash short courses and inservice education that were totally inadequate were put together to ready teachers for their new responsibilities. Basic teacher preparation, however, went unchanged.

Society, education, and the teaching profession are indebted to the courts for ensuring the rights of all children to equal educational opportunities. There is reason for concern that the courts have not been able or seen fit to enter the processes at higher or more general levels so that problems could be addressed at their source. Wise (1981) addressed the problem of school finance interventions by the courts. He advocated that the federal government step up its efforts in educational research and development. Like so many others, however, he neglected the question of how the results of such research would get to those who must use it: to teachers through teacher education.

State Boards and Departments of Education

The control and operation of school systems within a state customarily are delegated by the state constitution to an elected or appointed board of education. The legislature provides funding and makes laws respecting education which the board administers. Often, the board proposes legislation.

Not only do state boards of education carry responsibility for the schools but, also, they are responsible for teacher education and the certification of teachers. Thus, they determine the standards for teacher education and approve the programs of teacher education. Teaching certificates are issued on their authorization. Each state has a department of education, usually headed by a commissioner, which is the bureaucratic, administrative arm of the state board. A division within the department is responsible for matters of teacher education and certification. These arrangements, which result in both the schools and the teaching profession coming under the control of the same policy-making body and administrative agency, advertise "semiprofession." No profession can realize its potential if it is under the same control system as the institution which it serves.

All states should declare teaching a profession. They should give to the organized profession control of and responsibility for the preparation, licensure, and standards of practice. The authority for professional practice should come from the profession.

The state board's responsibility should be confined to the schools and their curricula. They also could be responsible for the issuance of certificates to control the qualifications of teachers in terms of special competence; but the profession should control who becomes a teacher through the license whereas the state should control assignment of the teacher through the certificate, if it so desires. Separation of the profession from the operation of the schools is essential to ensure that the interests of the profession are not economically or otherwise subordinated to those of the schools in the interests of solving short-term problems. Effective schools require a strong profession if they are to serve the public in the most favorable circumstances. The circumstances are the responsibility of the state. Professions are national and international in scope and so transcend any state or local boundaries.

Local School Systems

Local school systems repeat the organizational pattern of the state. A school board with an appointed professional superintendent heads the system, and depending on the size of the system, also heads up a hierarchy of line administrators and cadre of staff personnel. The responsibility-accountability system is closely patterned after that of business and industry. The administrators and supervisors who serve in the system have taken advanced degrees and received certificates through study in departments of educational administration and supervision in colleges of education where the fundamentals of the programs closely parallel those of business administration. Little or no attention is paid to the distinction between organizations that employ technical or rule-directed employees and those that employ professionals with outside sources of authority for their competence. The superior-subordinate relation is emphasized.

Leadership and climate, in the schools, are the responsibility of principals who also are expected to supervise and evaluate teachers. Throughout, the emphasis is on "supeers" rather than facilitating the peer relation that is characteristic of the professions.

As in other semiprofessions, administrators and supervisors are required to have experience as practitioners before they prepare for administration, although the quality of their experience is not assessed. Inasmuch as the program for administration and supervision usually contains little or no further study of teaching, the graduates of such programs acquire no additional teaching expertise (mute testimony to the emphasis on administration in such programs). Yet principals are required to supervise and evaluate teachers, and supervisors are expected to provide instructional and curriculum assistance to teachers! Administrators and supervisors, like teachers, are expected to operate more from a legitimated role and authority base than from trained expertise. This relation demeans the role of teacher, deemphasizing the professional and emphasizing the subordinate/worker role.

These observations are not intended to disparage either administrators or teachers. Rather, they are meant to emphasize the fact that the system is faulty and the persons filling the roles are victims of their definitions and the preparation for them.

SCHOOLS

Initially, schoolhouses were one-room buildings, each with a teacher. As communities grew, the schoolhouses became collections of rooms in which each teacher was relatively isolated and autonomous. For administrative purposes, one teacher was named "principal" and assigned supervisory responsibilities. Much elaborated, this arrangement continued except that the principal eventually ceased teaching and administered full time.

Despite considerable experimentation with team teaching and open concept schools the one-teacher, one-room model prevails. The custodial school ties the teacher to the classroom and prevents extensive peer interaction and collegial relations. Additionally, it precludes the effective use of specialized expertise by subject assignment in secondary schools.

Under the influence of progams such as Title I, the employment of teacher aides was initiated and has increased over the past two decades. The development and use of aides characterizes all professions as they mature. They conserve the scarce and expensive resources of direct professional services and free the professionals for other functions (e.g., research). Aides do not develop naturally in semiprofessions, however. Until there is a substantial professional culture there is not enough distance and distinction to prevent the ready takeover of professional functions by the aide. When a takeover threatens to occur the semiprofessionals reject the aides. This problem, along with the persistent dominance of the classroom system, has stood in the way of a very desirable extension of the use of teacher aides in schools.

Professions characteristically have three levels of personnel: paraprofessional, professional, and specialist. Paraprofessionals are trained for functions that are specified by the profession. They serve under *rule-direction* of professionals. Professionals are fully trained and licensed to practice in any area of the profession. Specialists are professionals who have taken postgraduate work in an area of specialty for which they receive a diploma. Specialists serve as consultants to fellow professionals when called upon. This system ensures the highest level of service at the least possible cost and waste of talent.

Schools are in desperate need of such a mature professional system and of a work place that permits and facilitates its employment. To fulfill this need will require a lifting of existing constraints on the professional development of teachers, a new organization and management system that is based on the assumption that the teacher is a professional, and an internal reorganization of schools that permits the effective deployment of levels of expertise. Team teaching and flexible schools have the capacity to accommodate such a system and to pass to teachers the leadership in the instruction role which is appropriately theirs. Without such a system there seems to be little opportunity to provide the kind and quality of service which the inclusive school demands.

Higher Education

State boards of education are responsible for elementary and secondary schools and their professional teachers but higher education in most states is under the direction of a separate board. Thus, although the requirements for teacher education come from the state board of education, which properly is a professional determination, the resources and apportunities to prepare teachers come from another body and through higher education (a residue of the days when normal schools were operated by state boards of education for the express purpose of preparing teachers for the schools). In their wisdom higher education boards generally have chosen to fund teacher education at its lowest formula level, a practice that reflects the low esteem in which universities hold teacher preparation. It also results in the exploitation of teacher education, in forcing it to remain an undergraduate program, in the impossibly low level of credit hours available for teacher education, and in the preferential treatment given to graduate as against undergraduate studies in education.

To achieve any kind of systemic redesign of the profession and the schools this strangle hold on teacher education will have to be broken. The regeneration must begin within universities, difficult as it may be. Teacher education will become adequate only when it is funded and operated as a professional school within the university.

CONCLUSION

In the public education system and the teaching profession there can be identified tangibles, assumptions, and practices which have a discernible history but not a comprehensive rationale. The two have grown up together and are replete with dysfunctions, which seriously impair their effectiveness. Cosmetic changes or resource infusions by themselves are incapable of assuring the schools' and profession's ability to meet public expectations.

Needed is a systemic reconceptualization, redesign, and renewal. Whether there is any capacity to accomplish such a task is a matter of considerable doubt. The process of deterioration already is far advanced. One can see indications of a major retreat from the commitments of the 1960s and 1970s and a large-scale disaffection from the public schools which, if supported by resources, could occur very rapidly. The process feeds on itself as each disaffection of the more privileged children leaves a higher concentration of problems behind, creates a greater tribalization, makes disaffection more socially acceptable, and increases the attraction of the private school option.

Countering such a trend is the love affair which we as a people have with the public schools on which our high hopes have ridden. Given half a chance people will place their bets on what has been a winner.

It is those who are most committed to all children, who care most about equality of opportunity throughout the whole social fabric, on whom the burdens continue to fall. Our very successes in extending privilege have contributed to the stresses that presently rack the system. Only by pressing on to the resolution of the underlying weakness can the successes by sustained and incremented.

None has a greater stake in the re-creation and revitalization of the public school system than the people who are committed to the inclusion of handicapped persons in the mainstream of the American way of life, schooling included. Mainstreaming is noble of intent. It is noble of accomplishment, however, only when both mainstream populations and persons who are mainstreamed are enriched or at least preserved in the process. Given the present capacity and conditions of the schools and the teaching profession, efforts such as mainstreaming are condemned to be zero-sum or net loss activities. They do not have to be.

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A RESPONSE TO ROBERT B. HOWSAM

Ida Harper Simpson

Professor Howsam argues that "the educational system has developed over time in response to the conditions and forces of the times" but "the system has come to have a substantial incapacity to respond to the challenges it now faces. Needed is a deliberate systemic redesign which takes into account the conditions of this time and this place." He chronicles demands made on the public schools and the schools' responses to them. The latest of the demands is for educational opportunities for handicapped children and youth. **Question**: How are schools to meet this demand?

Howsam distinguishes between the teaching profession and schools. Schools are organizations for the delivery of education. He looks to the teaching profession to answer the schools' latest challenge. What does Howsam wish the teaching profession to do? He wants it to professionalize in the belief that this will improve its educational delivery system. He emphasizes that professions rest on knowledge. Knowledge is to professions as force is to armies. Distinctive functions require knowledge to define and execute them. The mandate to a profession to practice a skill in the interest of societal values rests on knowledge. Without distinctive general knowledge that can be drawn on to meet its function, an occupation cannot hope to professionalize. Howsam thus argues that the occupation of teaching should upgrade its educational programs to train teachers better and set educational standards for certification. In effect, he reverses the policies that the Conant report argued for. He wants an autonomous teaching profession equal to medicine, and sees a knowledge base as securing that autonomy. He wants clients to give teachers the right "to teach" and to respect teachers' definition of "how" to teach.

He recognizes that the road to professionalization is long and discusses the barriers the occupation faces en route. Thus he focuses on (a) existing knowledge; (b) entrenched attitudes of teachers against innovations; (c) the developmental nature of teaching, which makes it difficult to translate into standardized functions; (d) inability of the occupation of teaching to recruit members of higher social classes whose community standing could enhance teachers' authority; (e) control of teacher-education curricula by state boards of education and state departments of education; and (f) the academic as opposed to the professional character of schools of education.

Howsam has made a well-argued plea for teaching to professionalize. But I am not as sanguine as he that even if teaching were to professionalize it would have much, if any, effect on the organization of schools or the delivery of education. I base this pessimistic view on two considerations that Professor Howsam does not treat. The model of professionalism he draws on is the collegial one institutionalized around an individualized professional-client relation of which medicine is the prototypical example. It is only one model of professional practice, and one that is rapidly vanishing as hospital and other health care organizations are displacing the doctor's office as the delivery system of medical practice. There are other professional models and, in my judgment, they are more appropriate to teaching.

My other reason for a pessimistic view is that clients—children—are ignored. The most autonomous profession cannot determine its clients. They change as society changes. Schools have been transformed through time in response to changes in who goes to school and their expectations of schools. Schools should be seen in systemic relations to their communities, as Howsam pleads. Our communities have been reshaped economically and socially by the shift of our society from an agrarian to an industrial and then a post-industrial society. In turn, the educational expectations, which parents have for their children and which children learn, have changed the system "inputs," with major effects on teaching. (Time precludes the discussion of these effects.)

MODELS OF PROFESSIONAL CONTROL

My discussion of forms of professional control draws heavily on the work of Terence Johnson (1972). Professional-client relations may be viewed as producer-consumer relations. The professional is the producer and the client, the consumer. How a profession is controlled and by whom depend on the producer-consumer relation. The relation varies with who defines the consumers' needs and the manner in which they are to be met. Johnson distinguished three prototypical forms: (a) producers define the consumers' needs and the manner in which they are to be met; (b) consumers define their own needs and how they are to be met, and (c) a third party defines the needs and how they are met. Further subtypes occur when the control over the definition of the consumers' needs and the manner in which they are to be met are split between the contending parties.

Producer Control

In this model, the definition of clients' needs and the manner in which they are met by the producer gives rise to what is commonly referred to as "professional control" in the traditional literature on professions. In this model, the profession is a cohesive group, a community within a community, and members are agreed upon their professional role and the services they give as professionals. The professional-client relation is a hierarchy in which the client is socially dependent on the professional for service. The profession's authority rests on a monopoly of specialized knowledge which is drawn upon to interpret needs of clients in a manner consistent with the socially arranged methods of meeting the needs. Neophytes learn the professional culture on which the professional role rests during formal professional training.

The occupation has both a license and a mandate to control its market. Occupational license is used here more broadly than the legal concept of license. It refers to the power to define and control the work of the profession. This power rests on the occupation's knowledge and the members' self-conscious solidarity of themselves as a profession. The mandate comes from the public honoring of the profession's claim to a right of control over its work. Professionalism is a closed collegial system perpetuated by professional schooling and the colleague group.This system closes ranks against outsiders to keep clients socially distant and, thus, highly dependent on the professionals.

By itself the profession is unable to exercise such extensive control over its clients. Its control is mandated, agreed to by clients. What characteristics and conditions among clients support a mandate of professional control? The most important is that clients are a large and heterogeneous group. Their number and diversity lead to social division and dependence on the professional. Their relations with professionals differ, as do their evaluations. They have little consensus on what is good professional service. Their lack of consensus further subordinates them to the professional and individualizes the professional-client relation. The recognition that Client A and Client B may share interests and experiences that can collectively inform their needs is obstructed by the individualized nature of the professional-client relation and its shield of secrecy. The shield mirrors the dependency that the professional establishes for the client.

The professionally defined relation has been institutionalized under the norm of individualized professional-client relations. The codes of conduct of "professionalism" express the norm and perpetuate it. Its effect is to intensify clients' dependence on professionals with little guarantee that their needs will be met. Clients can only trust in the professional.

Consumer Control

When the consumers define their needs and the manner in which they are to be met, the professional relation corresponds to patronage. Patronage may be oligarchic or corporate. The first was typical of traditional societies where an aristocratic patron was the major consumer of a profession's service. The White House physician is a current example of oligarchic patronage. When a profession's services are used largely by a large corporate organization, we call the relation "corporate patronage." Examples are the occupations of accountants, army physicians, "house counsel" lawyers.

In the consumer-controlled model, technical competence is not the sole consideration in recruiting professions. The producers must be acceptable to the consumers; they should share the values and status of the patron, be loyal, and identify with the patron; their business is to serve the patron. The professional is part of the patron's hierarchical organization—especially in a corporate system—with a status and a role in the organization. The corporate hierarchy displaces the professional community as the significant referent group. Knowledge is important, but the knowledge that is valued serves the patron directly. Theoretical knowledge is downgraded in favor of experience in dealing with the patron's problems, and the patron defines what constitutes good work. To work in the service of the patron promotes a concern with the patron's interests by the professional. This attachment to the patron undercuts the development of the general ethic of "professional" responsibility that characterizes producer-controlled professionals. The latter, who are mandated to serve the public, have a sense of public service, although their view of who is "the public" may be somewhat limited. The professional in the service of a patron tends to think of the patron, not the public. Such an orientation invites governmental restrictions to insure that professional practice conforms to the law. Public trust needs a societal mandate.

Third-Party Control

In this model, a third party defines the consumers' needs and the manner in which the needs are to be met. It is a mediative relation. The third party is more powerful than the client or professionals. The church, in medieval times, and state-provided social services today are examples of this model.

Third-party intervention extends services to consumers who otherwise would not have access to them. The effect is to increase the diversity of consumers and, at the same time, to guarantee clientele. The occupation tends to be incorporated into the organizational framework of the third party; for example, government. Services are contracted and pay is salaried. Affixing the occupation to a third-party organization creates dual roles: the occupation is professional in its role while its members are part of the third-party organization. A school is an example. The duality has negative effects. It weakens the occupational community by dividing loyalty between the employing organization and the profession. Careers may be directed more toward climbing the third party's organizational ladder than toward acclaim within the profession. Practice follows routines and rules replace judgment. Knowledge is less needed and less used by professionals in bureaucracies. Professional autonomy is undercut by the bureaucratic rules and restrictions on decision making. Bureaucracy tends to follow from mediative control.

In a bureaucracy, when a third party exerts controls, the autonomy of professions is reduced and interests are deflected from developing a knowledge base for practice.

Of the three models, the third most accurately describes teaching. The state has extended the services of schools to handicapped children and youth and it expects teachers to comply with this action. If teachers were to design a program to meet the needs of handicapped children, then the state would be less likely to organize a bureaucracy to determine how and what services would be provided.

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HOW CAN SPECIAL EDUCATION BE COORDINATED WITH OTHER SERVICE SYSTEMS?

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Special education is a delivery system that allows education to be provided in such appropriate forms and through such special methods that the effects of certain handicaps or developmental problems in learners—children and adults—are diminished or removed and learning and social development thus are permitted to take place. Special education is not a separate discipline. It is interdisciplinary in its most effective forms. It shares its research base with education and child development. It is a separate field of study that builds on the disciplines of psychology and education, but it does not have nor should it attempt a separate educational identity or an independent status among agencies or in the scientific, academic, and professional communities.

Three components make up the "special education system":

1. *Service programs* delivered through the public schools, private and public community-based programs, residential and day-care programs, and programs in other settings that include recreation and corrections.
2. *Professional education and training programs* in institutions of higher education, including community colleges, technical institutes, senior colleges and universities, and specialized schools, centers, and institutes.
3. *Advocates and governmental agencies,* including parents' organizations; local, state, and federal agencies; legislative committees; and professional organizations and groups.

In a little over 50 years these programs and agencies have grown in scope and complexity from a few small educational ventures, often in medical settings, and on-the-job teacher training, to a national enterprise that includes public school-based programs, comprehensive undergraduate and graduate professional training programs, and elaborate state and federal agencies that sponsor programs and legislation and administer millions of dollars in public funds for the education of exceptional children and adults. There are few success stories like it in the history of service-program development.

Currently, special education is not well coordinated with other service systems in this country. For the most part it is externally funded, externally directed, and often imposed on generic education and health services. This characteristic has tended to result in special education being *added* to an array of services as long as it pays its own way or is mandated; there is not a true integration of special education into the main body of available services, nor is it a legitimate partner in generic and continuing budgets. In many ways, local and state agencies have viewed special education services much as some of the general public views handicapped persons: nice if you can afford them.

Special education has had to rely on its advocates—mostly parents' organizations—and political action to grow and develop. Consequently, one perspective from which to view the past, current, and future directions of special education is the political context in which it operates and the political "eras" through which it has progressed. Over the past 30 years, special education has moved through four eras of interaction with other systems as well as changes in public attitudes toward handicapping conditions, principally mental retardation.

First was the *legislative era* of the 1950s. During this period parents of mentally retarded and other handicapped children and adults pressured state and federal legislators to develop laws and funding resources to provide educational and other rehabilitative programs for handicapped persons. These legislative activities were relatively effective but they were extremely fragmented and depended on the support of particular sponsors for continuing program development.

The second was the *executive era*. It began with the Kennedy administration in 1961 and included a number of executive advocates in governorships around the country. This support supplied a broader policy base and was more immediately responsive than the longer, more tedious, and fragmented legislative process. It also helped to provide more visibility for handicapped persons and propelled the National Association for Retarded Children (now, Retarded Citizens) to a national level of effectiveness which, during the Kennedy administration, equaled that of the American Red Cross.

The third era, the *judicial,* emerged during the Johnson administration at the time of the national emphasis on civil rights. The period, notable for its general focus on the individual rights of minorities and equal opportunity, extended into the Nixon administration. It was a period in which rights for the handicapped were sought through class action and individual litigation. Basic changes in the availability and effectiveness of special education and other services were sought through state and federal courts. A large number of legal advocates were marshaled to support this strategy and the foundation was laid for major federal legislation, such as Public Law 94-142, The Education for all Handicapped Children Act.

Our current period might be called the *era of advocacy*. It began in the latter stages of the Nixon administration and carried through the Ford and Carter years. This era is one of serious disarray, partly because of economic problems and partly because of the rapid rise of conservative political and social attitudes among the general public.

Recent changes in the national mood suggest that we have reached a plateau in the evolution of rights for the handicapped, and that new or even the continued expansion of resources to support special services is unlikely. The emphasis on *individual rights* begun in the early 1950s has swung to an emphasis upon the *common good*. This shift suggests that special education must become more general and that it must disengage from legal advocacy activities. The latter no longer are acceptable as a primary strategy. Instead, we must develop a more conservative and central position and seek out a more practical method of competition for limited resources.

We have moved from an era of *entitlement* to the era of *disentanglement.* Consequently, service systems that require interdisciplinary and interagency relations in order to function may suffer. The effect upon special education could be loss of identity, resources, and effectiveness. Alternatively, the effect could be the successful integration of effective special education system components into the mainstream of programs, resources, and policies of the human services system in the country.

All is not lost, but new approaches must be devised and more effective strategies must be carried out if special education is to survive the new *era of retrenchment.* Let us examine, then, what an integrated service system is and how it can benefit handicapped children and youth of school age.

AN INTEGRATED SERVICE SYSTEM

An integrated service system must (a) include certain *critical operational* characteristics, (b) constitute a *comprehensive matrix of services,* and (c) be *continuous and cyclical* in nature.

Most service programs are enterprises, not systems, because not much is "systematic" about them. Effective service-delivery systems are organized, systematic, and lend themselves readily to evaluation.

Critical Operational Characteristics of a Service System

The four fundamental characteristics of an effective service system are adequacy, timeliness, quality, and a favorable cost/benefit ratio.

Adequacy of service is defined by results or the effective application of the service. This is the primary critical characteristic. Adequacy can be evaluated only in terms of the change in a client that results from the service.

The timeliness of the availability of the service is also critical. A service is inadequate unless it is there when the handicapped individual is most in need of it and most likely to benefit from its availability.

The *quality* of service depends on the competence of the persons delivering the service, the relevance of the treatment or remediation of the handicap at the time, and the sufficiency with which the service reduces the negative effects of the handicapping condition or of the environment on the condition.

The *cost/benefit* aspect of service delivery relates to the extent to which the economic and manpower cost of the development and delivery of the service is justifiable, given the prevalence and severity of the condition in the community.

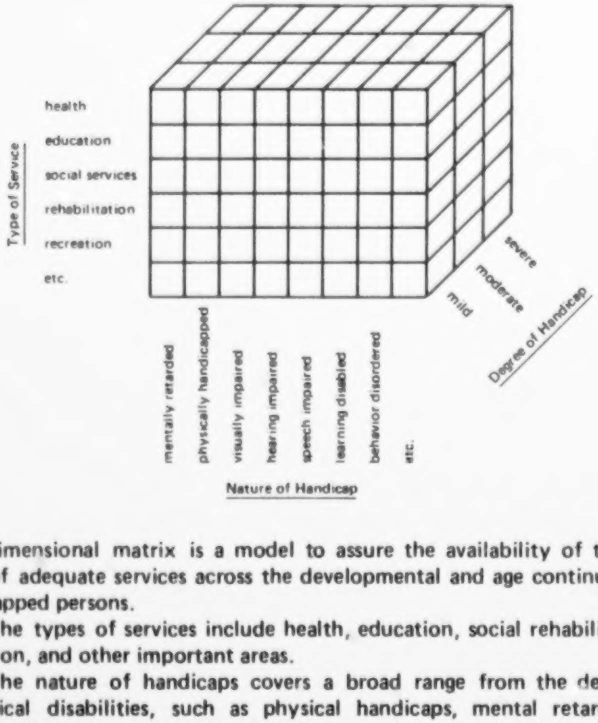
These four characteristics are overlapping and interrelated. Any effective service delivery system must include adequate, timely, high-quality, and cost-beneficial characteristics. An assessment of service-delivery systems using these characteristics will yield a general evaluation approach to such systems and provide a conceptual model for the development of strategies to service handicapped individuals.

Comprehensive Matrix of Services for Handicapped Individuals

Three categories or major dimensions should be used to set up a service delivery system for handicapped individuals (Figure 1). They are (a) type of service, (b) nature of handicap, and (c) degree of severity. This three-dimensional matrix is a model to assure the availability of the full array of adequate services across the developmental and age continuum of handicapped persons.

Figure 1

Comprehensive Matrix of Services for Handicapped Individuals


health
education
social services
rehabilitation
recreation
etc.
Type of Service
mentally retarded
physically handicapped
visually impaired
hearing impaired
speech impaired
learning disabled
behavior disordered
etc.
Nature of Handicap
mild
moderate
severe
Degree of Handicap

The types of services include health, education, social rehabilitation, recreation, and other important areas.

The nature of handicaps covers a broad range from the definable categorical disabilities, such as physical handicaps, mental retardation, behavior disorders, and sensory handicaps, such as visual and hearing impairments, to the disabilities that are less well defined.

The type and intensity of service activity should vary according to the degree of handicap severity, from mild to severe, which, in turn, relates to the prevalence of handicapped individuals in any given community. This matrix of services is designed to permit a general grouping of types of services by handicap and degree of handicap severity in order to assess and plan service-delivery systems. It also identifies and helps to organize the special and generic service agencies required to provide the services.

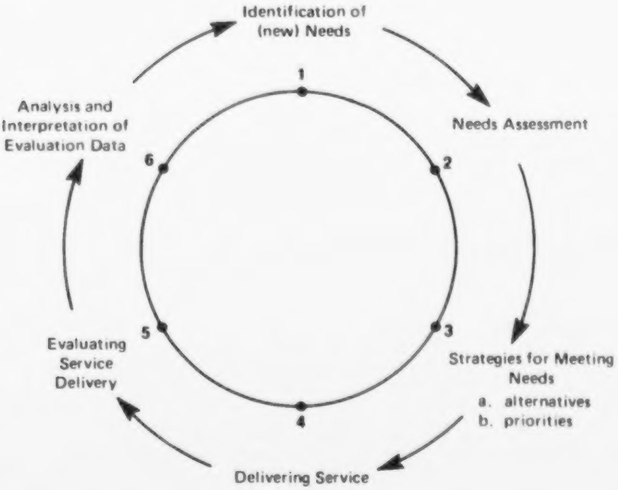
Continuous and Cyclical Service Activity

Effective service delivery is a continuous and cyclical process. It can be divided according to six critical phases of activity (Figure 2).

Identification of needs precedes a comprehensive *needs assessment* which then leads to *alternative strategies* for delivering services or meeting needs that have been identified and defined. The *service delivery* phase is subsequently evaluated for adequacy, timeliness, quality, and cost effectiveness. Evaluation data are then used to assess any reduction in the initially identified needs, to *analyze and identify* new needs, and to develop alternative service strategies. The cycle is then repeated.

Figure 2

The Service Cycle


Identification of (new) Needs
1
Needs Assessment
2
3
Strategies for Meeting Needs
a. alternatives
b. priorities
4
Delivering Service
5
Evaluating Service Delivery
6
Analysis and Interpretation of Evaluation Data

THE CURRENT SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM: STATUS

Using the model just set forth, a review of current service delivery systems reveals the following several factors that should be addressed.

The Integration of Human Service Systems

The rhetoric on this topic has been expanding over the past decade. It has consisted for the most part of public and private general statements on problems, goals, and objectives. The body of general belief or prevailing philosophy that is commonly held by professionals and special interest groups who are concerned with handicapping conditions relates, essentially, to the integration of services for affected individuals and the need for an improved method of integrating and coordinating services. There still are very few working examples of integrated programs.

Several reasons for this state of affairs can be identified. They have been noted by advocates of service-integration approaches. (a) Service programs are not correlated with a common set of national, state, or community goals and service objectives. (b) They are not responsive to the multiple needs of the clients they seek to serve. (c) They are not orchestrated through centralized, comprehensive planning processes at state and local levels. (d) They tend to be narrowly prescribed and rigidly regulated, particularly by federal agencies. (e) They not only fail to complement one another but, also, they typcially do not mesh with other federal, state, or local programs.

Additional difficulties encountered in integrating service programs include the following subfactors:

1. The political value of remaining unique and indispensable helps to maintain competition between agencies and specialized service programs; it works against the integration of human service programs at all levels.
2. The difficulty of developing a common or shared information data base slows down the movement toward better integrated service systems.
3. The development and provision of services along strictly disciplinary lines tends to hold up cross-agency or interagency programming. After 20 years of special funding, there is still resistance to cross-disciplinary professional training and manpower-development programs.
4. The slow but steady trend toward the integration of human services at the local (county) level could help to blend health, mental health, rehabilitation, social services, educational, and other programs, but the progress toward this goal is glacial and current budget constraints intensify interagency competition rather than collaboration.

At the federal level, the Reagan administration appears to be moving away from separate, cabinet-level, agencies for health, education, and social services, which may provide opportunities for coordinated planning and the consequent development of clear policies, priorities, and monitoring activities to stimulate integrated systems of state and local service agencies. The current situation, in which local agencies are separate and poorly coordinated, and national agencies are moving toward a more unified configuration, may be inverted to separate out federal agencies while local programs become more integrated. This inversion may allow federal and state agencies to move out of direct service delivery activities and into program and resource development, technical assistance, monitoring, and evaluation, which could place the local (county and municipal) agencies in a more direct and effective integrated service-delivery pattern.

Meshing of Planning, Service, Research, and Training

The flow of information and activity through the sequence of planning, program development, program implementation, research and development, evaluation, and training is poorly carried out currently at all levels. We need to orchestrate the planning, resource development, and program-development activities of service and training programs, including higher education and service program-based training and educational activities. Further, it is necessary to coordinate planning and program-development activities with the research, development, and dissemination programs that are increasingly remote from the service systems and the programs that train staff for the service systems.

Improved Match of Consumer-Client Input with Agency-Organizational Input in the Development and Delivery of Local Service Programs

Consumerism increased at a dramatic rate after the mid-1960s but only the Developmental Disabilities Act and Public Law 94-142 require consumer participation in the planning, program development, and service delivery activities for handicapped individuals at state and local levels. The involvement of consumers, especially handicapped persons, is an absolute necessity to improve the quality, timeliness, and effectiveness of the service needed as well as to guarantee that an appropriate and objective evaluation will be mounted in the face of increasing service program costs.

Need to Install a Monitoring, Evaluation, and Feedback Activity in the Planning Process

At the moment, the information developed for planning service, training, or research programs in the area of handicapping conditions is not sufficiently accurate or fresh to assure the timely and effective delivery of service. Monitoring the effectiveness of programs, evaluating programs, and providing feedback to the planning and program-development activity are poorly accomplished. In addition, the need is urgent for the development of cost-benefit studies and, particularly, research that would allow for more effective evaluation. Cost-benefit studies, thus far, have not provided those useful units of measurement or methodological approaches that lead to the program evaluation and cost-benefit statements which are found in industry and agriculture.

A Review of the Merits of Public Education Programs

Millions of dollars have been poured into propaganda, public awareness, and public education programs in the areas of mental health, special education, rehabilitation, health, other human services, and human development. The results, which have been mixed, mostly are measured by success in fund raising. Providing *knowledge* about handicapped persons does not necessarily result in an improved *understanding* of the nature of handicaps or of handicapped persons. Nor does it always result in a positive change in public attitudes toward handicapped persons and the positive contributions that they make to our society. Further, the mobilization of public interest and support for related service, training, and research and development activities has not been so effectively accomplished as to mount the public support, attention, and resources necessary in the years ahead to *prevent* handicapping conditions and to provide for the special service needs of persons who are and will be handicapped in our communities.

A special effort must be undertaken to study the various strategies which have been used effectively to mobilize public support for other purposes. In addition, new and more highly specified approaches to public education and the strengthening of our effort to increase public awareness in the area of handicapping conditions must be undertaken, particularly among lower socio-economic groups. Without a background of moral and financial support the various programs needed to serve handicapped individuals, little progress can be made and recent gains may be lost.

Closer Coordination of Governmental Branches

The route of special interest groups (notably parents) toward developing service programs for handicapped children and adults has shifted from pressures on legislators and members of Congress for specific legislation, to pressures on the executive branches of state and federal governments for more enlightened leadership, to an advocacy that maximizes use of the judicial branch through class-action litigation.

We need a more effective, non-partisan coordination of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, especially at the state level, to provide the leadership, legislative development, and legal support that are necessary to develop a more integrated and effective network of human services programs for handicapped individuals. A mechanism should be established to assist states to better orchestrate legislative and executive agency activities according to judicial and legal interpretations and enforcement procedures so that the states will have the practical capacity to provide necessary services over a reasonable timeline.

In short, what we may *not* need is further litigation or legislation. Instead, we need successful demonstrations of how consent decrees can be fulfilled and how available, tested research products can be applied to change policy or modify and improve services.

Lag in the Application of Technology to the Problems of Handicapped Persons

An effort by the federal government in 1968 to transfer some space program (NASA) technology is one of the few efforts to systematically review current and developing advances for application to the prevention or alleviation of those conditions that handicap many of our citizens. For example, visual communications technology has been adapted to diagnostic purposes, new types of materials have been made available for prosthetic devices, and computer-based instructional systems have been made possible by semi-conductor research and development (micro-electronics). These are but a few of the many opportunities that could follow systematic review of the full spectrum of technological development in this country over the past 30 years for the immediate and long-term benefit of handicapped persons.

Continued Focus on Defect Rather than on Environmental Determinants and the Arrangement of the Environment to Prevent or Alleviate the Effect of Handicapping Conditions

The enduring notion of a handicap as a "defect" results in society labeling persons and considering them as "deviant." Thus bias works against the best interests of handicapped persons and impedes—even precludes—the understanding of handicapping conditions and the development of integrated service-delivery systems. Greater support should be given to developing and expanding the base of knowledge which has been established over the last few years and which approaches the understanding and alleviation of the effects of handicapping conditions from an ecological perspective. The environmental and sociocultural determinants of handicaps are still poorly understood. Improved efforts in research, development, and evaluation of service programs should be mounted to more fully explore this major source of handicapping conditions and to discover the extent to which environmental manipulation and cultural redefinition can provide effective intervention, remedial, and preventive measures.

The Role of Higher Education

Higher education, particularly at the graduate and professional school level, is still inadequately involved in the education and training which is required to develop and carry out at state and local levels a comprehensive and effective national service-delivery system for handicapped individuals.

The traditional concept of higher education as the principal generators of knowledge must be expanded to include a needs-related training strategy that stresses joint planning and service programs and an expanded public service role. In this way, the data necessary to plan and develop service programs can be shared between the manpower-development organizations and service-delivery systems to achieve the orchestration and synchronization of the two systems and produce more effective services. The current situation in which service programs are planned and developed and then stalled by the lack of adequate numbers and types of personnel is unnecessary and unforgivable, given the state of the art of our current planning and evaluation skills. Similarly, inadequate planning and staff-needs projections for service programs disrupt the training of personnel.

Higher education, especially publicly supported universities, is available for participation in the development of objectives, priorities, and strategies to meet the service needs of handicapped individuals. However, an extra effort must be made to link the institutions of higher education with service-delivery systems on statewide bases; such a link will assure adequate joint planning and program development and the successful delivery of competent staff, on time, for necessary service programs. Special funding to universities for correlated work with service agencies is required to achieve such links.

Continuing, Back-up Support Systems for Services

Insufficient attention has been paid to the need for technical assistance organizations to provide necessary inservice training, staff development, consultation, resource development, and program assistance for service programs. Demonstration programs, information dissemination, skill development, capacity building, and technical assistance are necessary to any comprehensive service-delivery system.

Technical assistance is a process whereby new knowledge, materials, special skills, and information on related service activities can be brought systematically to even the smallest component of a comprehensive service network. Technical assistance organizations are typically limited to small state and regional agency staffs; they must be expanded to provide the kind of continuing support and assistance that is necessary to help mount a significant local service effort.

An Adequate Relation Between Public Education Agencies and Human Resources Agencies at the State Level

Over the past several years almost two dozen states have created "umbrella" agencies to bring together mental health, health, rehabilitation, social services, and other human services agencies under a common bureaucratic format. Public education is not included in any of these schemes. The net effect is to make one of the largest enterprises that is of value to handicapped individuals *more* remote from health and other human-resources programs. It is important that each state develop and maintain an adequate planning, coordination, and evaluation linkage between education and other human-service programs at the state level.

Need for Documentation and Research in Education

Despite the fact that education represents the greatest investment of resources in behalf of handicapped children and youth and, perhaps, is of the greatest developmental benefit to them, relatively sparse documentation and research have been generated in comparison with other service areas that affect this population. However, because current litigation and legislation highlight the educational needs of handicapped individuals, it is likely that the quantity and quality of relevant documentation will increase. If we maintain our commitment to provide full educational opportunities for all handicapped children, there will be a demand for more information than currently exists. Consequently, the need for educational research, development, and dissemination (now at a very low ebb) is greater than ever. Personnel and funds for research on practical educational problems should be developed at state and local levels. A minimum of 15 percent of education budgets should be earmarked for research, development, and evaluation.

Lack of Adequately Trained Personnel

Services for handicapped children and youth, more than ever before, require well-educated and trained personnel who are, at the same time, both generalists and specialists. Service-program staff need transdisciplinary training (how to use other disciplines) in order to respond to handicapped individuals on a variety of dimensions and to know when to provide access to other specialists. Today's service programs often do not provide the full range of services needed; instead, they frequently apply expensive, specialized services when they are not needed. Personnel who plan services face the same dilemma: their specialized knowledge actually limits their usefulness. Manpower trained in various human services areas (e.g., public health, special education, and social service planning) are needed to adequately plan the coordination of comprehensive services instead of continuing the current uncoordinated, categorical, and specialized services.

THE FUTURE OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

The shift in the public national mood in 1980 from a popular-liberal to a conservative-traditionalist frame of mind signals a significant change in the the prospects for handicapped persons in the United States. Indeed, when in the year 2000 A.D. we will look back we may see 1980 as the high-water mark of public support, funding, and interest in handicapped persons. The next decade, it seems certain, will require a period of pruning and consolidation and a focus on quality and productivity. We will shift from a concern with individual rights to concern with the common good.

Intensification of interest in traditional values, merit, success, accomplishment, competition, discipline, stability, and morality often have characterized the climate when handicapped persons have gone unrecognized or lacked effective assistance. Indeed, it is not unusual for an uninformed public to regard handicapped persons as constitutionally unsuccessful, undisciplined, lacking in accomplishments, and even immoral. Such attitudes in the past have raised major barriers to the development of effective educational systems for handicapped children and adults. Certainly, the development of local service programs is contingent on accepting and supportive public attitudes, whether toward a special class or a group home for mentally retarded persons.

So, a shift in history, once again, requires a significant review of alternative futures for special education. This time, the positive high-drive expansionist and developmental attitudes of the 1960s and 1970s have given way to traditionalist reform and an emphasis on the common good—at the risk of infringing on individual rights.

The question is, what will this shift require of special education and its practitioners in the 1980s? Certainly, the changes and adaptations will be linked to a direct function of changes in *public education* generally. Changes will occur in (a) teacher education, (b) the format and content of inservice or continuing education, (c) the potential for reintegrating arts and sciences into the curriculum of education, and (d) the fortunes of educational research. The fuel that will feed these changes is the recent, substantial, and widespread public concern with the quality of education. Concern with the quality of American education has replaced the overriding interest of the 1960s and 1970s in developing and fostering equity, equal opportunity, access to services and individual rights in the context of the educational delivery system. Many people feel that the liberal-reformist drive has become an end in itself, that the drive has become too strident and gone too far. Indeed, some believe that important educational research has not been accomplished lest its findings disturb some group or special interest.

The changes and adaptations in *teacher education* are clearly linked to public and professional concern with the quality and effectiveness of teachers and the corresponding competence and abilities of the children in their care. The response to this problem thus far has been to revise policies and procedures for licensing teachers, such as adopting more stringent selection procedures for admitting students to professional teacher-education programs; and to establish procedures whereby teacher-education programs are initiated and continued at institutions of higher education. Both functions tend to be the responsibility of state education agencies and their governing boards. The university is in the crosshairs on the issue of quality teacher education and must reform its strategies; unfortunately, it must do so in the context of diminishing resources and a cloudy supply-demand picture.

New approaches to inservice and continuing education should follow the new forms of technical assistance systems, and they should emphasize individualized continuing education strategies that are linked to specific teacher competencies and required for initial and continued licensing. Such approaches should be especially evident in the area of special education.

Educational research, at an all-time low in funding and in its impact on educational policy, is all but stagnant, except for scattered and unrelated activities. In commenting on the future of schools and education, Ralph Tyler (Rubin, 1975) concluded that American society has been changing since its founding; social changes in recent years have quickened under the pressures of technological developments, increased production and distribution of goods and services, more effective dissemination of information, and high levels of education in the population. He believed that society will continue to change but that the precise shape of things to come cannot be dependably predicted. However, it seemed clear to Tyler that the demand for schooling will continue and that schools of the future must deal with certain critical problems which have not yet been solved. Chief among the problems identified by Tyler were (a) providing effective educational opportunities for children and youth (including the handicapped) not now learning what the school seeks to teach, (b) furnishing the educational experiences required for character development, (c) inducting adolescents into responsible adulthood, (d) educating students for occupational life, (e) meeting needs for continuing education, and (f) obtaining financial resources for education. Tyler recommended that educational research and development activities emphasize these critical problem areas and make this emphasis a major priority for the future.

Because special education is so intimately entwined with the current and future course of education and the public schools, it is important to take Tyler's counsel in considering the future of special education. Further, it would be useful to consider the integration of special education with other service-delivery systems, including health, social services, corrections, and others.

Other major factors must be considered when one attempts to characterize the future of special education.

- There must be an increase in coordinated planning and program evaluation in special education and in budgeting at state and local levels. Included should be an emphasis on improving the effectiveness of public service agencies, education, and training programs at the local and university levels, and improving linkages between governing bodies and their staffs, particularly boards of governors and trustees of universities and colleges, and members of state and local boards of education, community colleges, and technical institutes.

- The translation of special education research into social policy must persist and become increasingly effective.
- Significant improvement must be made in the development of effective leadership in the area of special education.
- The saliency of private business and industry will be felt in the conservative educational reforms of the 1980s. The reforms will be reflected in the increased selective funding of educational activities that are related to economic development at the state level, and in a focus upon vocational education in the public schools, community colleges, and some universities. Increasingly, education will be brought into the service of the states' economic development, and technological development and production will heavily bias the direction of the growth and development of higher education and the public schools.
- There must be a continued emphasis upon and increased effectiveness in the development of equal educational opportunities, access to such opportunities for minorities, and, consequently, cultural and social enrichment in the context of public education.

Special education must participate in the address and solution of these problems and requirements.

HOW CAN SPECIAL EDUCATION BE INTEGRATED WITH OTHER SERVICE SYSTEMS?

Given the status of current service programs, if special education is to be integrated with other service systems, clearly, several significant changes must take place. In general, special education itself must develop the principal characteristics of an integrated system, that is, it must become adequate and timely; and it must engage quality staff and provide effective and cost-beneficial services. It must be able to offer comprehensive services in concert with other services, and to do so in the continuous and cyclical manner that was described previously.

Specifically, certain changes in the current situation must occur.

1. *Special education must reestablish itself in its home discipline–education.* This move will require effective "administrative mainstreaming" as well as the integration of special educational service strategies into the structures and strategies of general education. It also will require special education to return to the central concerns and operations of the discipline of education on the university campus. For the most part, the home of special education is the university, not the elementary and secondary school systems. Its energy and sources of renewal come from the interdisciplinary

resources available to it in the institutions of higher education. In short, just as special education has achieved a level of emphasis on "mainstreaming" its clients, so too does special education need to mainstream itself in its primary discipline—education—and in its primary home—the university.

Special education has much to offer higher education. The maintenance of quality and effectiveness through external evaluation and the regular renewal of curriculum has been customary in the evolutionary development of special education.

One remedy for declining enrollments in universities is to improve the retention of students through remedial education programs and to increase access to academic programs for qualified handicapped college students. Institutions of higher education that project enrollment declines can partially offset these losses by the vigorous recruitment of handicapped college-age youth and the organization of effective programs to remove attitudinal, architectural, and communications barriers to entering and successfully completing advanced educational programs.

In short, special education has had to be resourceful in solving many problems that universities are now facing. Special education can lend this experience to universities in return for more participation in the governance and instructional, research, and public service roles of higher education.

2. *Special education must improve its interdisciplinary relations* by strengthening and legitimating its research base and research operations, and by consolidating its gains and identity as a legitimate service system.

Special education research has yet to achieve the level of excellence enjoyed by other disciplines and subspecialities. The small corps of competent researchers is still rather small as compared with other areas, and although, to be sure, it is larger than the Illinois-Peabody-Syracuse axis of 20 years ago, it still is insufficient for the task.

Funds for research in special education never have amounted to the investments made by other special interests. Instead, the major commitments by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (BEH; now OSE; soon, who knows) have been to service and demonstration programs. Certainly, the BEH programs have been impressive, principally, the Handicapped Children's Early Education Program (HCEEP), and the now dwindling training grants have been reinforcing, but the inability to stimulate research from the federal level has been a weakness and will hound special education program effectiveness into the 1990s.

To a considerable extent the professional image of the special educator, whether teacher, administrator, or college faculty member, exceeds that of his/her general (or regular) education counterpart. This is due mostly to the advocacy efforts surrounding special education, the extra visibility afforded the area, and its favored funding position relative to regular education since 1965. Even so the image is in danger as the results of special education programs become more widely appreciated. An extra and renewed effort is required to strengthen the profession.

3. *Special education must prove that it is an effective activity* and that it produces positive performance changes in its clients in typical or natural

settings (e.g., schools, child-care centers, adult day-care centers, and community-based residential facilities). No amount of advocacy or rhetoric will substitute for solid data on achievement, competence, or performance gains resulting from special education treatment approaches. In the long run, schools, parents, and taxpayers will not settle for less than positive results.

Glass' report and Scriven's admonishments (see this volume) and, much earlier, the cautions of Goldstein and Moss and the strictures of Lloyd Dunn, should teach us to package our promises cautiously and to move carefully among the advocates who would interpret a minor gain as a major breakthrough or a modest success as a Nobel prize. Much work must be done and considerable success waits to recommend it. But the road ahead to program effectiveness requires careful mapping and long and expensive hours of survey.

I agree with Scriven on the relative value of selected special studies. It is an affordable road and one that is likely to produce not only important insights into the strengths and weaknesses of special education but, also, useful vignettes that stimulate investment in service programs and further research.

4. *Special education must concentrate on integrating its services at the local level and consolidating and expanding its sources of local and state funding.* At the local level efforts must be made to strengthen the policies and support positions of school boards and administrators of school systems with regard to the need for continued and expanded special educational services within the context of the governance and administrative structures of community schools. In addition, special education must embed itself in the policy and budget structures of county government, the policy and procedural structures of county government, and the policy and procedural structures of county-level departments of health, social services, mental health, and others, as well as the public schools. Special education must constantly concern itself with local politics and special interest organizations at the local level.

Further, an emphasis on state funding is critical to the continued life and effectiveness of special education. It will require a more effective interface with state legislatures, special commissions and state-level boards, state executive agencies, and special interest and economic development organizations within states.

In sum, if special education can reposition itself in the discipline of education and in the university without diminishing its effectiveness in the public schools, if it can further strengthen its interdisciplinary relations in both the service and professional training systems, if it can continue to improve its capacity to demonstrate effectiveness as a special service, and, finally, if it can strengthen its funding base through local and state level resources, then it can be expected to have sufficient strength and power to integrate itself effectively and safely into other service systems without loss of identity and effectiveness, and without fear of unequal footing in the continued competition for limited resources and public support.

IMPLICATIONS

Much of my discussion may be viewed as a proposal to dismantle a special service system that fought its way into being over many long and painful years. Not at all. If special education is an effective, needed service system it will survive the risks of rejoining the mainstream in a conservative climate. Indeed, special education may have a useful change effect on general education at one of its most critical periods.

1. Moving successfully in the directions proposed will require an immediate reassessment of current policies that are followed by special education to identify and remove policy barriers to the reforms suggested.

2. The organizational and budgetary arrangements for special education service programs in every state should be re-analyzed with the intent of reducing separations from generic services and the resulting isolation and competitiveness.

3. A close review of the match between current policies and a supporting research base should be undertaken. Many persons believe that our advocacy may have outrun our research data and that promises have been made that may be difficult or impossible to keep.

4. A new generation of policy developers and analysts must be trained to address the issues of services for handicapped persons and to improve the translation of research into effective public policy. Special education has been dependent on policy-development processes that did not readily accept or understand the issues in the field or the body of knowledge comprising special education.

5. Almost from the outset, special education has relied upon the support and protection of public agencies for its development. So long as it is closely tied to public education, this will remain the case. However, a variety of increasingly competitive special agencies has been created at federal and state levels to deliver services to handicapped persons. Special legislation and categorical funding have led to special agencies and special regulations and considerable waste and confusion. A streamlining of governmental agency participation and the role of government is due for review. The role of special education agencies at federal and state levels requires a closer look. It is too soon to know which options to take, but a reduction in the leverage placed on priorities for funding special education service and training programs at the state-local levels by federal agencies would be greeted by many educators with great relief. Although the principle of leaving program directions and priority setting at the local level has led, in the past, to some abuse and neglect, moving toward more local control of special education programs should be a high priority for the 1980s.

6. The very source of special education's energy—parents' organizations—must be revisited. The past two decades of rapid development, advocacy, and litigation have left many such organizations weakened, disoriented, and even embittered. Many parents do not see much progress in their communities and, like many local organization members, do not necessarily agree with some contracts that are drawn on their behalf at the

national level. Many parents never were very comfortable with the adversarial aspects of advocacy, and the contests of the 1970s have left some embarrassed. They still contend that deinstitutionalization is neither possible nor desirable for *many* families. Mainstreaming, for some, has been more disruptive than helpful. The principle of normalization is still an abstraction to many parents and the monolithic implementation style of Public Law 94-142 has frightened parents and schools alike.

Parents' organizations have been the nurturant for the steady and persistent pressures that were required to provide educational services for exceptional children. Somewhere along the way the latter became "clients" and the mechanical approach to expanding the special education service system took on a foreign look. One of our tasks is to restore the human aspect to special education and to remedy the moral detachment from the problems of development provided by "I.E.P." and "M.B.O." strategies.

The many complexities and constant changes in this country make it difficult, at best, to devise and fund service systems in a manner that will please the majority and still effectively reduce individual problems. That condition is nowhere more evident than in the development, evolution, and current status of special education programs. Special education is clearly at a major choice point. It is time for renewal, retooling, and reentry. And it may be in the best interest of the handicapped. Such is the task for the 1980s.

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A RESPONSE TO DONALD J. STEDMAN

Gunnar Dybwad

We in the U.S.A. are still so very isolated from the rest of the world, all progress in communications to the contrary notwithstanding, and still so very isolated by our own choice, that we are apt to think of developments in our country as just of our own making. Our positive internationalism tends to show itself more in sending CARE packages than in learning about developments elsewhere in the world.

Just as in the late 1940s and early 1950s parents in widely separated parts of the world rose up to demand schooling for their retarded children, a rebellion whose time had come, not a strategy directed from a focal point, so now principles and policies like individualization, integration, or normalization are part of an on-going forward movement in the Caribbean Islands, Central and South America, and other parts of the world. There are striking differences from country to country but the ferment of change is noticeable everywhere. We have in our country a momentary reversal, unfortunately, but I do not think that we will see matters deteriorate to the point where Latin American countries will be sending educational missionaries to help us catch up with the world.

In the interest of saving time and keeping the focus on my reactions to Dr. Stedman's paper, I adhere rather closely here to his sequence of presentation and highlight those points which I feel require additional arguments to be introduced into the discussion. This is not a matter of right or wrong but, rather, of broadening the spectrum of criteria as well as of possible interpretations.

Stedman and I were comrades in arms in the days of President Kennedy's national campaign to combat mental retardation. But when I read his interpretations of developments in special education since those vibrant days of national commitment to change, I found myself at certain points quite at odds with this viewpoint in a way that brought to mind a verse by George Preston, the psychiatrist who, in the 1950s and 1960s, was Commissioner of Mental Hygiene in the State of Maryland:

> If I look up and you look down
> Upon the biggest man in town,
> You'll see his head and ears and nose,
> I'll see his feet and knees and toes,
> And though it is one man we see,
> You'll swear he's A, I'll swear he's B (Preston, 1940).

In other words, at various points of his presentation I encountered facts, criteria, and interpretation of developments from which I draw conclusions that are quite different from his. Obviously, the eye of the beholder is a major factor here, which should stimulate much further discussion.

As far as Stedman's comments on the history of special education are concerned, I missed a reference to the fact that the origins of special education are found in specialized programs for particular disability groupings and that physicians played a considerable role in those early developments. That is, the growing pains of special education were aggravated, at least in part, by the competing groups who were devoted to specific disabilities, and that situation was reflected not only in the schools, but also in teacher-training institutions.

Stedman is correct in pointing out that the integration of special education with other service systems has been a problem, at least in some states. However, Massachusetts is one state where, in recent years, special education has been well integrated into the Department of Education. Under leadership of a Commissioner of Education who had been a professor of education at the University of Massachusetts, the Associate Commissioner for Special Education became one of the top officials in the Department. I make special mention of this because I am convinced that in Massachusetts, which had strong legislative support for its own law, Chapter 766 of the Acts of 1972, and thus saw the federal law not as an imposition but largely as a reinforcement, special education programs will continue to enjoy strong support.

I agree with Stedman's comment that less money will be available for special education as a result of recent changes in the national mood. However, I question the justification of his statement that "the serious disarray" in the area of advocacy is characterized by a swing from an emphasis on individual rights to an emphasis on the common good. I strongly disagree that a rationally administered Public Law 94-142 assures rights which are in conflict with the common good. To the contrary! What we are seeing is a shift of resources to the benefit of privileged groups.

In holding out the possibility that instead of loss of identity, resources, and effectiveness, the recent upheaval could result in a successful integration of effective components of the special education system into the mainstream of the human services system, Stedman would seem to favor still greater separation between the basic education department and the special education programs. However, it seems to me to be extremely unlikely that state education systems throughout the country will give up their autonomy to become part of the human services organization in their states.

I agree with Stedman's criteria for an integrated services system. I would add, however, that of the four fundamental characteristics of effective service delivery, adequacy, timelessness, and quality of service are much better understood and used than is the fourth factor, the cost/benefit aspect of service delivery. This is particularly true in the area of severe handicaps where cost benefit must of necessity include a long-range review. The costs of long-term care can add up to a staggering sum as the years go by. Thus, even a lessening of the degree of care required—a lessening of dependency—by the acquisition of a simple skill can constitute a tremendous savings over the years. This fact applies as much to prevention (particularly tertiary prevention) as it does to service delivery. Any program of effective care that results in the avoidance of 24-hour care in an institutional service system, any program with a home-based approach, that is, using the family's natural setting and strength, which offers the family a support system that includes services in and outside the home, is apt to be very cost effective.

I have more of a problem with the relative usefulness of Stedman's three-pronged matrix of services for handicapped individuals, divided by client population, types of service, and degree of handicap. Were the matrix applied to practical situations, we would be confronted with the fact that a common problem in any analysis or research design in this area is the ever-increasing overlap, the ever-more vanishing dividing lines among types of services (what is health? what is rehabilitation? what is education? etc.) and among categories of the client population (e.g., a hearing-impaired person with cerebral palsy who is judged to be mentally retarded).

Further, I would raise a question about the third critical operational characteristic of an integrated service system: the service cycle. Theoretically, the suggested flow from identification of needs to needs assessment to strategies for meeting needs to service delivery to evaluation of service delivery to analysis and interpretation of evaluation data, presents a nice clear model. In practice, however, it seems that the funding mechanisms, both appropriations and allocations of funds, tend to intrude into the service cycle and influence the bureaucratic management of needs assessment, such as by discouraging the acknowledgement of needs for which the state is unwilling or unable to provide required services.

In discussing the current rhetoric on service delivery systems, Stedman suggests that such programs are favored by special interest groups in the area of handicapped individuals. This idea requires some further exploration. Better coordination, if not integration, of services at the local level are desired by most groups. However, usually the process starts at the other end: Administrative power is consolidated in one person who becomes the "czar" of the service system; the result is that accountability is moved upward and is harder to reach by the average consumer. Thus, power is increasingly vested in individuals who are strong on executive control but weak on the substantive knowledge which is the concern of a special interest or consumer group.

I strongly support Stedman's point on the need to bring about a better match of consumer-client input with agency-organizational input in the development and delivery of local service programs, but I suggest that this match be extended to the area of monitoring, where such a mix is of equal significance.

Some of Stedman's doubts about the effectiveness of propaganda, public awareness, and public education echo mine. There will be less and less need for such large-scale programs as the years go by for the simple reason that the most effective "interpreters" of special education are the children who are receiving it as part of the public school program. This fact has been demonstrated time and again. However, another approach should receive much more consideration; that is, the introduction into the curriculum of general schools, from kindergarten on up, of age-appropriate materials dealing with all aspects of handicap. Many such materials are already available and have been used successfully.

There must be more effective, nonpartisan coordination of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of state government, but this task can hardly be assumed by or entrusted to the leadership in special education. The constitutional struggle over the balance of power can be expected to deepen in the foreseeable future.

I support the call for more systematic increased use of technological advances in the field of handicaps. I was very pleased recently to attend a meeting in Massachusetts with the excellent, highly skilled staff of the adaptive equipment centers which have been established in each of the five mental retardation institutions, and I welcome the growing recognition in the field that appropriate adaptive equipment should be available to the families of severely handicapped children from earliest childhood: another wise investment.

Like Stedman, I see a continued focus on defect rather than on environmental determinants and the arrangement of the environment to prevent or alleviate the effects of handicapping conditions. But I strongly disagree with him when he puts the blame on society in general. The shoe is on the other foot. It is my learned colleagues at the universities and their all too compliant students who spread this notion of deviance. One does not hear the word on the streets. It is not a word one hears in talking with one's neighbors. Even newspapers do not refer to handicapped persons as "deviants"; they reserve that word for sex offenders. The labeling takes place in classrooms, clinics, case conferences, and, of course, the professional literature.

The foregoing observations link up with Stedman's next point, the role of higher education. One problem to be considered here is that much of the astoundingly swift progress in ameliorating certain types of disability is made by practitioners and is not communicated speedily and effectively to the universities. To the contrary, an astounding lag often is found even in respectable textbooks. I agree with Stedman that we must link the universities more effectively with the service delivery system.

Although in most states the relation between public and human resources agencies is inadequate, I must take a rather cautious attitude toward the "umbrella" agencies to which Stedman makes reference. It is not the "umbrella" to which I object, but to the "umbrella man," as I have indicated. Again, referring to the recent experience in Massachusetts, the "umbrella man," known as Secretary of Human Services, was "the Governor's man" and effectively superseded the authority of the commissioners who were the titular heads of the various departments. Therefore, we were very glad that in our state the Commissioner of Education is appointed by the State Board of Education, and thus, his professional commitments are quite well protected from outside political interference.

I make this counter argument to Dr. Stedman with the full understanding that we are not dealing with a black or white issue; rather, the interagency cooperation and coordination Dr. Stedman desires depend on the people involved. This brings us to another point to be considered here: Heads of large departments are very preoccupied with the political process. Interdepartmental cooperation and coordination, therefore, is often much more effective if it is dealt with on a somewhat lower functional level; for example, by the persons responsible for child welfare, child health, special education, division of youth services, and the like.

Referring to the fact that education represents the greatest investment of resources, Dr. Stedman feels that a minimum of 15 percent of the budget for education should be earmarked for research, development, and evaluation. This sum might be appropriate if we had a modicum of community services, but with so many children unserved or only minimally served, no more than 8-10 percent should be taken away from the service accounts. Higher education, too, should tighten its belt and learn to do its research on a modest scale.

In raising the question of how special education can be integrated with other service systems, Stedman prescribes, "Special education must return to its home discipline of education." Must return? When did special education leave? I am all in favor of incorporating special with general education but distortions like the one offered here will not help. If there is to be a chance for success then it must be acknowledged that the major burden rests with general education. It was from there that the exclusionary policies emanated; it is there that major adjustments should be made toward more flexible policies.

Of course, I am ready to stipulate that some university settings have been very supportive of special education but I cannot accept the sweeping dictum that special education's energy and sources of renewal come from the institutions of higher education. That sounds to me like a very far-fetched assertion that will evoke bitter laughter in some of our colleges and universities.

I am not sure whether I shall be around in the year 2000 A.D. but if I am I do not expect to see what Stedman seems to envision: a country fallen victim to "Stockmania," a country pruned of entitlements and freed of liberal-reformist influences. Once again the Reagan-Stockman drive against the poor, the old, and the disabled is equated with a concern for the common good, and for good measure Stedman repeats this assertion. Most astonishing is his interpretation that important educational research has not been accomplished for fear that its findings may disturb some group or special interest. Are our researchers really that venal?

Next, we hear again about "public attitudes toward the handicapped who are often viewed as constitutionally unsuccessful, undisciplined, unable to accomplish, and immoral." In the course of my work on behalf of persons with handicaps I travel extensively throughout North America, meet with local groups, and have frequent interactions with the media. Nothing I have heard during the past three years justifies this characterization of public attitudes, especially not in connection with the expansion of any public school program. There is an exception to this, and that is certain extreme opposition to the establishment of community residences for disabled persons in neighborhoods. However, the record shows that in the large majority of cases this initial opposition subsides once the residence is established.

In his final section on implications, Stedman has included statements that are worthy of further discussion. The first is that "many believe that our advocacy may have outrun our research data, and promises have been made that may be difficult or impossible to keep." This seems to suggest that in years past research was assuming major responsibility in guiding innovative special education programs, rather than reacting to and evaluating such programs. Stedman then proceeds to characterize the parents' organizations in a way which I find difficult to reconcile with my observations. To be sure, individual parents may have been left "weakened, disoriented, and somewhat embittered," but to speak of parents' organizations in that vein would seem to require more supporting data.

More astounding is that the chapter on implications, in a position paper on special education, contains the flat assertion, "Deinstitutionalization is neither possible nor desirable for many (sic) families." On what basis is this judgment made? There follows, again without any substantiating data "Mainstreaming has, for some, been more disruptive than helpful." And this is followed by the statement, "The principle of normalization is still an abstract painting for many." These are three astounding opinions, especially in the International Year of Disabled Persons!

It is not the purpose of my comments to set forth how mainstreaming functions, but we should observe that the principle had its origin in an article by Maynard Reynolds (1962). The comparison of the normalization principle with an abstract painting would be a great surprise and disappointment to Neils Erik Bank-Mikkelsen of Denmark, the man who first expressed this principle in the late 1950s. At its core is the simple message: It is normal to be different. This is exactly the kind of message public school teachers in the regular schools must learn to appreciate.

Obviously, my friend Stedman and I are looking from different windows upon the same scene and "see" different things. I take my cue from Reynolds who thinks that our situation is "very difficult but promising." I believe with him that we see in special education a steady, progressive, inclusive trend that testifies to a kind of moral development in our society which will prevail, our present political setback notwithstanding.

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SPECIAL EDUCATION: THE COST OF EXPERIMENTATION

Frank J. Macchiarola and Robert W. Bailey

We are moving along the path of helping to educate every special child in a public school setting and we are deeply worried about the quality of public support for our efforts. Further, we are worried about the quality and content of our educational programs for handicapped children. These anxieties have resulted in the overwhelming sense of public ambivalence toward special education in America today.

The ambivalence, I suggest, is the result of (a) political forces that have been unleashed against all of education and (b) the uncertainty that comes from any new venture in social programs. Thankfully, we are not ambivalent about our commitment to our mission: to insure schooling in the most beneficial way for the handicapped children of America. That such schooling should occur in the contexts of public schools and the mainstream is a given aim of us all. And thankfully so. Too many children have been offered hope, and these hopes have provided us with a mission. Educators have a responsibility to build on these conditions.

Public ambivalence should not be all that surprising. The expectations of a few years ago simply have been hit by the actuality of program formulation, operation, and evaluation. We are in the middle of fundamentally changing the way handicapped people are integrated into our society. The passage of legislation is merely a statement of goals. Implementing the legislation is a more significant and challenging process in which unexpected problems emerge and the limitations of theory and resources are discovered.

The major problem, however, is that our current ambivalence about special education is part of a larger sense of ambivalence that is present among Americans. In recent elections for president, Congress, and local offices, the voters expressed a lack of faith in public solutions to our problems. Thus, although it is not surprising that we have not succeeded as well as we may have hoped in administering new programs in special education, it is doubly unfortunate that we have had to experiment at such a poor time, given the context of the political climate. As the late political scientist Wallace Sayre said, "The benefits of reform are immediate; the costs cumulative." Today, we also must confront a public skeptical of promises made by governments and the governments are short on funds.

These two problems—lack of public support and lack of public funds—are tied closely together. The current shortage of funds for government is not just a matter of independent economic variables (e.g., oil prices, lagging tax bases); it is also an expression of discontent among the voters and taxpayers. Tax caps, tax limitations, the rejection of bond issues, tuition tax credits, voucher plans, and the like are all expressions of an increasing skepticism. As a result, we must persuade voters and taxpayers that what we are doing is meaningful. Given the fact that we ourselves are not even sure about how to be the most effective, that is quite difficult. The major public policy issues for the 1980s are how government resources can be applied with less fiscal impact on all levels of government. That does not mean that older issues have changed: The fundamental political cleavages between rich and poor, black and white, propertied and unpropertied, old and new immigrants remain. They are simply focused now on the arenas of public finance and the efficacy of governmental programs.

The times are sad for the special education community. The political victory of recent years is threatened by larger forces. We tend to forget, sometimes, how long the struggle has been to expand educational services in the United States. Some things that were once problematic—compulsory high school, education for women, and the legal right of black children to an education—are today taken for granted. Now that the times favor children with handicapping conditions, the actual limitations in the area of finance bring problems of their own. The long debate over equity and resources was finally resolved, in principle at least, to the advantage of the handicapped. It was not enough for constitutional equity to be interpreted as an even distribution of resources among students; the factor of need also had to be included. Now that "special students" have achieved their legal rights in the courts and through legislative action at the federal and state levels of government, we face a shortage of funding due to local and state cutbacks, and a volatile political climate in which the parents of special children are pitted against the parents of other children.

In this political context it is important that we do not give ground on the basic issue: the special education responsibility. We are not simply discussing a management issue or a schooling question. We would not change the terms of the dialogue to "management" to accommodate research on the efficacy of teaching handicapped children. We must not be put into the position of bureaucrats defending the delivery of services. The real issue is one of right: the right of the public to be served. And if special education programs have not been delivered to the public as successfully as they should be, the response of government cannot be to abridge the right.

We have been put in the position of defending inadequate programs and then seeing the poor results of these programs lead to suggestions for terminating the programs. The failure of bureaucrats to do a job often results in the elimination of the job. Can you imagine the poor military results of the Vietnam War leading to the termination of the Department of Defense? It is the strange logic of the Reagan Administration that applies one consequence to social programs and an entirely different one to the military.

What we are left with, in fact, is a significant problem with the quality of special education. Consequently, the most frightening of the papers in this report is that of Dr. Glass. His paper gives us pause because its preliminary findings, in the context of other findings, indicate that the current methods of placement and instruction in special education are less effective than we would like and, possibly, may have even a negative impact on children. The unpredictability of therapeutic and teaching methods and, thus, of policy in special education in general, undermines our ability to choose rationally in policy making. The combination of effectiveness research with a managerial sense can help us to use what limited resources we do have optimally. To find that, in fact, we have no positive effect or that what positive effect there is happens at random, is as distressing as it is ironic to anyone charged with administering these programs.

Similarly, the reports of Hersh and Walker on the current prejudices among mainstream and even special education teachers toward the disagreeable behavior patterns of many handicapped children is disturbing. Their research raises many of the same questions that Professor Howsam raises in his comments on poor teacher preparation. Moreover, reports that any improvement in the interactions of students and teachers is difficult to maintain and that considerable resources are needed for even marginal changes to be made, are distressing. If the burden of most literature on effectiveness in special education is that separation from the mainstream is among the least likely ways to help most of the special education population, then we must face the problems inherent in the current requirements and put our hopes in "mainstreaming."

Significantly, however, the unpredictability of policy in special education also has important political implications. If we cannot show parents or the taxpayers that what we are doing will have beneficial effects, then it will be difficult to build the necessary political coalition among parents, advocates, and interested parties to support the high costs of special services.

We may already sense concern among the parents of special education children. The recent analysis of special education enrollment in New York City provided quite an interesting statistic. A full 50 percent of students who had been referred to a special education program decided in the end not to participate. That is a remarkable demonstration of lost faith. The services provided by the New York City Public School System to these children cost approximately $8,000 per capita. Is there any other product or service you can think of that, if offered free of charge, would be rejected at the rate of 50 percent? Clearly, much of this response must result from the fear of committed parents that their children will be falsely categorized for life, but there is also the clear indication that parents feel that our services are too poor in quality or insufficiently predictable for them to risk the potential stigmatization of their children.

In fact, the relation between predictability and effectiveness is critical. The confidence anyone invests in a theoretical model in the natural sciences or a therapy in the medical sciences rests, mass hysteria aside, on its predictability. But in the current context of our ambivalence and voter skepticism, confidence is even more critical for education, in general, and special education, in particular, for two reasons.

1. If we cannot build confidence in our policies we will not be able to persuade people—parents and taxpayers alike—that they should invest their money in us or allow us to care for their children. Consider the problem of the public policy maker who must justify the expenditures of funds for a program that, in the end, cannot show any result. The commitment of resources contributed by the public should not be measured by our hopes but by a careful balancing of our hopes with our skills. "What we can

do" is as important a question in the budgetary process as "what we would like to do." We should not force the administrator of public education to defend special education services solely on the grounds of our hopes or the requirements imposed by courts or legislatures. Something more substantial is necessary. Students and parents have rights but so, too, do taxpayers. If we are not having a positive effect, we have no right to spend their money. It has been my belief for a while now that the current crisis in education generally must be dealt with through greater effectiveness. Special education is no exception.

2. I cannot help but suspect that the uncertainty of our diagnostic methods combined with the on-going pressure to cut back on educational services will impact on the rates and categories of classification in special education. We already know that there is significant variation among clinicians and school districts in the rates of classification and the types of programs into which students are placed. A study done for my office indicated that among the 20 largest cities in the United States, a fourfold variance in rates of classification was present. Detroit was the lowest: only 4.2 percent of its total student body were classified for special education programs; Boston was the highest with 18.4 percent.

More frightening is the continuing problem of race in the categorization process. Even if the statistical starkness with which blacks were assigned to programs for the mentally retarded as opposed to those for the learning disabled has declined, a latent racism remains in the placement process. Both the expectations for these students and the resources dedicated to their problems vary greatly. A slip of the pen can determine a child's future forever.

Given the per capita costs of these programs, the pressure to cut will be enormous. In the case of New York City, funding for special education has become highly charged politically. Both the Financial Control Board (created in 1975 to deal with the City's financial crisis) and the City's major educational public interest group have issued critical reports on special education services and funding. It is one of the fastest growing areas of expenditure for the City (the school district is dependent on the City for funding) and one in which the seeming unpredictability in the number of participants and program effectiveness has undermined our persuasiveness with outside agencies and the public.

Professor Lynn pointed out in his paper, however, that the variations in funding formulas among the different states create their own sets of incentives and disincentives in program administration. The unpredictability in diagnostic and therapeutic techniques opens an area of vagueness that surely is influenced by funding mechanisms and cutbacks. Clearly, the discretionary authority invested in the categorization process is influenced by a range of factors, each of which, such as local practices, varies in different placement rates. But it must be admitted that the effect of financing and the pressure to cut back are critical.

Glass' report creates doubt for all of us over the utility of special education in general. In some ways, his reported findings are similar to those of other investigators in correlational studies of effectiveness. Among the critical dimensions usually cited in this literature are the expectations of teachers. In regular education also, teacher expectations usually have been found to correlate positively with student performance. I am convinced that at least part of the general increase in reading scores which has been evidenced in New York these past two years (admittedly a flawed measure of success) is due to the higher expectations that are placed on students and teachers by the state minimum competence requirements and by our local policies that deny promotion to a student who is significantly behind his grade level at the end of 4 and 7 years.

Almost by definition, however, the expectations of teachers in special education are less than those of regular education teachers. Special children are caught between frustration and expectation. In order to resolve their problems of frustration, expectations are lowered for them. In some ways, the Individual Education Plan (IEP) legitimates these lowered expectations. It is rare that IEPs lead to a diploma or other official certification of completion except for the plans themselves. Given the fact that most children in special education programs are diagnosed through tools that are not fully developed, we simply may be providing a rationalization for lower performance by students, teachers, and the school system as a whole.

Those of us who may take the other side, however, who may want to raise expectations for these children, have a problem of our own. We risk for the child debilitating frustration and the constant questioning of our right to raise expectations so enthusiastically. But this is only part of it.

Glass noted that the "tone" of a classroom, that is, the expectations for work and accomplishment set by the teacher and infused into the children, is a critical variable in effectiveness. It is only one dimension. Many of the correlates in school effectiveness studies have produced complementary results. Effective schools have similar characteristics which can be identified. But, in regard to special education, many of them are problematic.

Ronald Edmonds, who has conducted such studies in Michigan and New York and who has been important in our school-improvement efforts in the City's public schools, identified five dimensions. Like other investigators of effectiveness he, too, found that expectations are important. But there are other important factors, some of which are highly problematic and suffer under special education settings. Edmonds' other four dimensions are (a) administrative style; (b) consistent and reliable assessment tied to the curriculum; (c) a curriculum focused on basic skills; and (d) an orderly atmosphere in the school. In addition to expectations, at least two other dimensions are problematic in the special education setting: administrative style and assessment of students. Administrative style is important. A strong principal, one who is experienced and has a consistent and enforceable philosophy of instruction and administration, is seen by Edmonds and many other investigators as an absolute in the effective school. But, as Lynn noted, too often special education services are seen as outside the normal responsibility of the school, forced on both teachers and administrators by legislatures, courts, or nasty bureaucrats from the central school board. In our experience in New York City, it is not unusual for principals to divert therapeutic services that were made available primarily for the special education population into "crisis intervention" functions for the entire school as a whole. Often, what is important to the courts, the Congress, and state legislatures is not so important to the people in the front line.

We also have a problem with student assessment. If it is critical to give the student feedback—both positive and negative—then lowered expectations become a threat. The lack of predictive capability in much of the diagnostic and therapeutic services we offer limits our ability to provide the student with feedback. The range of variation in even the most sophisticated measurement instruments in special education often leaves us without direction. What is progress outside the normal curriculum and how do we assess it? How do we tell a child he is following the correct path? I am not saying that it is impossible, only that it is more difficult for the special child.

In the context of special education, then, the correlates of effectiveness studies leave us with two important implications: (a) The very nature of special education limits its own effectiveness, that is, if the literature is as reliable as it now seems; and (b) what progress we make in special education must occur in the context of the whole school's effectiveness. The loud and clear message emanates from both the research and anecdotal observations of educators; it should be emphasized. A direct improvement in special education occurs when educational services in general are improved. Schools that have successful educational programs tend to have successful special education programs as well. This fact is significant because it tells us that the effectiveness of the whole school is an important dimension of special education; that it has broad payoffs; and that it is, by implication, a cost-effective way of serving the public. I strongly suggest that important implications for special education will be forthcoming from studies of school effectiveness. And this research should be seen as an important priority for special educators.

In addition to the general theme of ambivalence that dominates these conference papers there also is a common concern for the initiation and conduct of programs. Stedman and his associates, tracing the history of special education through four stages, focus their comments on the particulars of finally coordinating special education with other social services as well as mainstream educational services. I wholeheartedly agree with this statement that "what we may *not* need is further litigation." We need to know how court decrees can be carried out and how available research findings can be applied to change policy and improve services. Given the court decree in the New York case of *Jose P.*, I believe strongly that the role of the courts becomes negative at the implementation stage. By complicating decision making and creating alternative channels of influence and accountability, it is highly likely that the courts, at the implementation stage, actually will work against achieving what their intervention accomplished in the initial formulation of a commitment to the special student.

Beyond ambivalence, moreover, one senses among educators a certain amount of anxiety for the future of special education. Lynn's analysis clearly recognizes that a shift back to cost consciousness will affect the range of related services offered, set restrictions on private placements, and create more stringent criteria for eligibility. Stedman foresees a time when the rights of the majority will be emphasized to the disadvantage of minorities, including the handicapped. New emphasis on traditional values, discipline, higher standards, and the like will work, he feels, against the needs of special children. Howsam sees a major retreat by the government from the commitments of the 1960s. He recognizes that there is not just a threat to special education out there but, also, a threat to the common public schools in general.

Our anxiety for the future is not unfounded. We all properly sense some threat to public schools, whether it is in the form of school budget rejection, hostility toward teachers, increased interest in voucher systems, the growth in private schools, or cuts in funding for public education. My message on this count continues to be twofold: increase the effectiveness of school systems and display high-level sensitivity to the costs we impose on taxpayers.

Costs are as critical as effectiveness. Advocates and professionals, having the interests of children in mind and faith in their own skills, often place the costs of programs low on the list of factors contributing to program formulation. A case in point where cost and professional interest have come into some conflict is occurring in New York City. An integrated and interdisciplinary approach to evaluation and placement clearly is the direction in which we all wish to go. In New York City we have been moving slowly away from our previously centralized method of evaluation and administration toward a school-focused system. To counter the older method, we created School Based Support Teams: interdisciplinary units that evaluate children's needs and make recommendation for placements. The older system was too removed from the school setting and worked against the provision of Public Law 94-142 that children be placed in the least restrictive environment.

So far so good. But one result is that providers are now creating their own service demands. With courts and legislatures making decisions by mandates for service we find it difficult to control or even to estimate costs. Decisions on program effectiveness must be made within the school system; they must not be dictated elsewhere.

In some ways special education now is the most protected of all educational services. Lynn points out the interesting fact that although President Reagan looked to cut heavily into the financing of special education, the influence of Republican as well as Democrat constituencies in local state governments, many of whom were less sympathetic toward other social programs, in the end prevailed and the funding was restored. In New York City, despite close supervision from outside monitors and in the face of five years of retrenchment politics, the budget for special education services, protected by the courts and the State Department of Education, has tripled. Possibly our anxiety is excessive, at least when we see what is actually happening to other nondefense-related programs or even education in general.

What we should be concerned with is the potential source of conflict if the share of local finances for special education is increased while those for other educational programs are decreased. The American people are in a cost-cutting mood. Our mayors and governors have no problem opposing mandated programs, despite the fact that mandates are endemic to American federalism and without them we would live in a chaotic system in which localities determine national priorities by default. My fear is not that special education will lose much of its funding in the midst of a general pulling back from social commitments, but that ineffectiveness, lack of cost control, and bureaucratic confusion may undermine the faith in these programs we must develop in parents, taxpayers, and ourselves.

If I were to set agenda for the coalition of political forces that are interested in special education services, they would incorporate the following: (a) advocacy and parent groups should be mindful of the costs of these programs and aware of the potential for conflict with other parents, given the shrinking public pie. They should, however, resist discussions of management. (b) Educational researchers, psychologists, and program formulators must continue and even expand their efforts to identify genuinely effective programs. We must link effective special education programs to effective educational programs in general. Our problem with unpredictability must be solved. (c) Teachers should have much higher and greater expectations for their students, even if they are limited to what is possible. Each special education child must be seen as equal to every child in a regular school setting. (d) Administrators must be mindful of costs and the Congress must be mindful of its commitment on behalf of the American people. It would be ironic indeed if handicapped persons finally achieved equality only to have the commitment to them broken by the present Congress!

I am not certain at all that major political reforms can occur in the present fiscal and political climate. But then, we do not actually need a major "political" reform. A consensus of courts, the Congress, and state and local governments has affirmed every special child's right to an education worthy of that name. This political reform was accomplished in a progression of successes that are outlined in other papers.

Currently, we are in an age of "implementation" in special education: feeling our way around; trying to find something that is both effective and cost efficient; and trying to maintain commitments to students although commitments to us are being broken. The knowledge upon which special education is based may not yet be sufficient for the kind of prediction and effectiveness I am calling for; therefore, we must, as all the authors in this volume argue, enhance and direct our research toward those goals.

It is appropriate to note that there has been a great deal of analysis and criticism of new school programs. Fashionable academic critics despair of positive results long before it is reasonable to expect those results. The findings of social scientists on ineffective programs generally are submitted for publication much sooner than they would be if the scientists understood how slow and deliberate the process of social change actually is. Had social scientists advised Queen Isabella, Columbus would not have gotten much farther from Spain than Gibraltar.

Despite all the bad news, our ambivalence and anxiety, and public skepticism, we can take some solace. The expansion of public policy to recognize the rights of handicapped children and youth seems to be here to stay. And even if professionals must change their focus from advocacy to effectiveness, and even if we must fight more intensely over who pays the bills, the consensus remains that equity in results is as important as equity in input. Broad expansion of services may not continue in the future but the effectiveness of the services must.

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS: MAKING SCHOOLS EFFECTIVE FOR ALL STUDENTS

Richard H. Hersh and Hill M. Walker

Laurence Lynn asks in his paper, "The Emerging System for Educating Handicapped Children," whether *all* children are receiving a better education post-Public Law 94-142 than they did prior to its passage. The papers by Glass, Howsam, and Stedman address this question directly and/or raise important issues that point to the problematic nature of implementing the law. The title of our paper suggests that the answer to Lynn's fundamental question of schooling effectiveness, as it relates to both handicapped and nonhandicapped children, frames our particular interest in the conference focus.

Several important themes emerge from the four papers, themes that have a direct bearing on the possibility and probability of creating more effective schools for all children. Lynn rightly points to the structure of schooling—the technology of service delivery and financing of services—as a salient element in the history of education for handicapped children and determinant of educational outcomes for them. The early practice of diagnosing children's handicaps, notes Lynn, was the teacher's identifying burdensome children—those who, for any of several reasons, failed to meet her expectations. This concern for maintaining classroom order, plus the added incentive of state funding for handicapped children who are placed in special classrooms or schools, resulted in what Howsam refers to in his paper as "300 years of exclusion," a practice, ironically, that has contributed to the recent press for returning these difficult-to-teach children to the regular classrooms from which they were once banished.

The question arises, however, whether schools and professional educators are any better equipped to deal with handicapped children in regular classrooms than they were earlier. Have better methods of teacher training, a more sophisticated technology of instruction, and improved schooling conditions eliminated the historical burdens of teachers labeling and stereotyping handicapped students, peer rejection and abuse, and behavioral communication of low-performance expectations? Descriptive studies of handicapped children in mainstream settings provide answers to these questions that fall heavily on the "no" side. Mandated changes in educational practice and political, legal, and financial incentives—not improved educational delivery—seem to account for most beneficial changes in the education of handicapped children.

Howsam reiterates the need to focus on the structure of schooling if we hope ever to make schools more effective: "An initially simple and unsophisticated system," he says, "has been allowed or forced to grow in size, complexity, and responsibility but not to make adequate adaptive changes." He rightfully points to the need to take into account the legal, educational, political, and financial dimensions of schooling. But, he says, "There is every reason to believe that the schools were not designed to handle the whole range of educational problems in regular classrooms, even when special services are added. In consequence, both regular students and those with handicapping conditions *lose* out."

Teachers, Howsam points out, are also losers in this systemic overload. Federal and state legislation, court decisions, higher parental expectations, and grossly inadequate teacher-education programs force teachers merely to cope, and coping strategies are hardly up to the task of compensating for systemic failure. Although Howsam recommends the questioning of basic educational assumptions and the redesign of the education system, he acknowledges that the process of deterioration in the system is already far advanced.

Stedman, too, asks that we focus on the connection between special education and the more generic of schooling services. He suggests that education for handicapped children is not integrated with the schools' larger mission because, for the most part, it has been externally funded, externally directed, and imposed on the school system! This situation has resulted in *adding* special education to a range of services as long as it pays its own way or is legally mandated. In this context, special education hardly can be viewed as part of an integrated service system. Instead, it is considered "a nice service if you can afford it." In calling for the integration of service delivery, Stedman implicitly bumps up against our initial concern; that is, making schools effective for all students.

Glass' analyses should snuff out any vestigial romanticism in those persons whose hopes are pinned on the presumed efficacy of special education instructional technology. In essence, Glass tells us that the present level of diagnosing handicapped children and providing treatment for them in special resource rooms is unsound. Yet, some things do make a difference, he says, and for that we breathe a sigh of relief because we at Oregon and colleagues elsewhere are researching what Glass advocates. He emphasizes the work of the teacher, echoing the sentiments of Howsam's concerns. In particular, Glass points to teachers' and pupils' values and attitudes toward work, teachers' expectations of pupils, and teachers' concerns with order and organization in the classroom as crucial variables mediating ultimate student achievement—any student's achievement. Glass characterizes the result of the teachers' and students' attitudes and beliefs as the "tone" of a classroom. This "tone" "defines the contingencies of the relation between teachers and pupils more than do M & Ms and gold stars. More important than psychological theories or sophisticated curricular packages is how teachers cope with their work—theirs and their pupils." This, he says, "is an expression of privately held motives not readily expressed to others and, indeed, often and at the deepest levels not understood by the persons themselves."

THE ECOLOGY OF EFFECTIVE SCHOOLING

Several basic themes emerge from the four papers. (a) Integrating most handicapped children into the mainstream of schools is a policy which we should continue to pursue. (b) Overall instructional competence leaves a great deal to be desired owing to the nonexistence of *one* magical model of instruction, inadequate teacher training, and often abhorrent structural conditions of schooling, not to mention the added political, legal, social, and economic burdens imposed by the public nature of the education enterprise. (c) Despite all the aforementioned negative factors, there is the continuing belief that the quality of teachers and the classroom conditions they create are what should occupy our future attention.

A fundamental and perhaps more subtle issue ties these three themes together, however: How do we make schools more effective for all children? History and the analyses provided by the four papers suggest that prior attempts to "solve" instructional problems for handicapped children at first consisted of efforts to make schools more effective for "problem" kids. We have learned now that such a solution for handicapped children is linked to a solution for all children. The research we are conducting at the University of Oregon and reporting in this paper is an attempt to better understand how to make schools more responsive to and effective for all children, including those with handicaps.

The ecology of effective schooling has been made more fragile by the passage of Public Law 94-142. The act virtually ignores teacher training and credentialing; Howsam points out that such legal oversight adds one more straw to the back of the already fatigued, if not dead, camel of teacher education. A central question asked by Lynn is whether the law's boost was sufficiently strong to overcome the inertia of the school system. The successes of students in his vignettes notwithstanding, Lynn is less then euphoric about the positive effects of the law. Clearly, there have been gains, not the least of which has been to make the problems more visible and to seriously educate public and professional educators to the legitimate rights, aspirations, and abilities of handicapped persons. However, the structure of schools, both instructionally and financially, hardly has been dented in the process.

Misclassification continues. Teachers are fearful of lawsuits and complain of the increased burdens and stress (e.g., more paperwork, parent meddling, and excessive work load) created by placing handicapped children in already overcrowded mainstream classrooms. Ironically, more and more parents are seeking *more* restrictive environments within public schools, fleeing with their handicapped children from what they see as abhorrent conditions in regular classrooms. This flight parallels the removal of non-handicapped children from public to private schools. Financing is worse than ever as the result of declining enrollment and an electorate whose potential investment in schools needs the concrete referent of "my own child in the school" as the primary reason for supporting school levies. Notwithstanding the justified intent of Public Law 94-142, the burdens inherent in its implementation have the potential of overstressing an already technologically inadequate teaching profession. Less than adequate conditions of schooling and inadequate teacher preparation cause one to question whether teachers in regular classrooms are capable of succeeding, even without considering mainstreaming.

The available literature on teacher attitudes shows that regular classroom teachers are not so receptive to mainstreaming as perhaps we hope

(Alexander & Strain, 1978; Jones, 1978; Keogh & Levitt, 1976; Larrivee & Cook, 1979; Ringlaben & Price, 1981). The teachers understandably react to the added burdens of children who are difficult to teach. Keogh and Levitt (1976) reported that regular teachers also are quite concerned with (a) controlling who is mainstreamed into their classrooms, (b) their ability to meet the needs of mainstreamed handicapped children, and (c) the availability of support services and technical assistance. These concerns are not surprising; in fact, they are to be expected, given the relative isolation of regular classroom teachers from experience with the range of handicapped children. The wholesale referrals to special education made this isolation possible. Sarason and Doris (1978), for example, argued persuasively that diagnosis does not determine special class placement; rather, the handicapped children who are placed in special classrooms are those, especially emotionally disturbed children, who most disturb the regular classroom teacher and students. In recent years a dramatic increase has occurred in special class placements for such children. It seems that the availability of special education as a referral service, in many cases, has served the convenience needs of regular teachers first and the programmatic needs of handicapped children second.

What happens when a teacher is faced with the task of teaching and managing a handicapped child who is obviously different and unresponsive to traditional instructional methods, and who severely pressures the teacher's repertoire of management skills? A major purpose of this paper is to report our initial examination of this question. Therefore we (a) summarize the research on schooling and teaching effectiveness in regular classrooms, research which we believe should be considered when teachers and students are prepared for mainstreamed placements; and (b) report the results of current studies at the University of Oregon on mainstreaming and teacher expectations. Specifically, we provide evidence that (a) both regular and special education teachers' social behavior standards, expectations, and behavior(s) focus predominantly on student behavior which is oriented toward teacher control, compliance, and classroom discipline; (b) both regular and special education teachers attach little relative importance to peer-to-peer kinds of classroom social interaction, which would seem to be required in a successful mainstreaming effort; and (c) both teachers and handicapped students can be trained to accommodate to the conditions of mainstream classrooms.

Review of the Literature

The review of the research on schooling effectiveness is intended to provide the context for understanding the complexity of classroom teaching in general and the problems of mainstreaming in particular. Many of the largest and best known schooling studies (e.g., the study directed by James Coleman) have used what is called a "production function paradigm," a variant of the quantitative input-output efficiency model that is most often used by economists. These studies have proved to be somewhat misleading because they tell us little about either the quality or actual distribution of a school's available resources. Glass and other researchers suggest that the most salient unit of educational improvement is the classroom, with foci on teacher-student interactions and what students and teachers bring with them into the school setting (Doyle, 1979; Dreeben, 1978; Murnane, 1980; Tomlinson, 1981a).

Teacher expectations are viewed as important determinants of teacher behavior in general, especially in relation to pupils who are members of special populations; for example, disadvantaged or handicapped children. The available literature on teachers' expectations in relation to children's academic performance clearly shows that classroom teachers form differential expectations for the children in their classrooms and behaviorally communicate their expectations in instructional interactions (Brophy & Evertson, 1981; Brophy & Good, 1970, 1974). Research in this area provides evidence that students who are perceived by teachers to be brighter and more competent receive more teacher attention (Rothbart, Dalfen & Barrett, 1971), are given greater opportunities to respond (Brophy & Good, 1970), are praised more (Rubovits & Maehr, 1971), and are given more verbal cues (Blakely, 1971). Rist (1970) found that children in lower reading groups had more negative interactions with their teacher than did older children. Firestone and Brody (1975) showed that children who experienced the highest percentage of negative interactions with their kindergarten teacher also demonstrated lower levels of competence on the M.A.T. at the end of the first grade. As a general rule, teachers behave in ways that maximize the achievements of high-expectation students and minimize the achievements of low-expectation students in their classrooms. Teacher expectations for handicapped students are likely to be very low in comparison with the expectations for nonhandicapped children. The implications of these findings for the mainstreaming process are certainly less than promising.

Central to our focus are the concerns articulated by Jones (1978); he called for (a) systematic attention to the attitudes that regular teachers perceive as impeding their ability to work effectively with handicapped children and (b) strategies to equip both teachers and handicapped children with behavioral competencies to reduce the strain in their interactions with nonhandicapped students. Our research places particular emphasis on teacher standards, expectations, and tolerance levels in relation to children's *social* behavior, as opposed to their academic performance and achievement. Social behavior, as used in this context, comprises those behavioral skills and competencies that contribute to successful classroom adjustment and facilitate the development of interpersonal skills and social competence. For most classroom teachers children's successful adjustment would be evidenced by a behavioral repertoire that (a) facilitates academic performance (listening to the teacher, following instructions and directions, working on assigned tasks, complying with teacher requests, etc.) and (b) is marked by the absence of disruptive and/or unusual behaviors that challenge the teacher's authority and disrupt classroom atmosphere or are objectionable to the teacher and difficult for her or him to cope with. Most teachers demand this kind of behavioral repertoire from all children assigned to their classrooms but rarely are successful in fostering its appearance in each child. Unfortunately, mainstreamed handicapped children are likely to be severely deficient in what we call the "model behavioral profile," and, consequently, are judged by at least some regular classroom teachers to be inappropriately placed; that is, the children are perceived as unable to meet the demands of the least restrictive setting. Then, perhaps the best we can hope for is simple geographical mainstreaming as opposed to the substantive integration envisioned by the framers of Public Law 94-142. The frequency with which this phenomenon occurs cannot be empirically verified as of this writing. However, we suspect that it is far higher than we would like to see and quite unacceptable at its current level.

In fact, the model behavioral profile contributes to a satisfactory school adjustment, as judged by teachers, and facilitates academic achievement. However, it also serves the convenience needs of classroom teachers for discipline, control, and preservation of authority. It has little to do with the development of interpersonal skills, social competence, and the ability to cope effectively with peers. Handicapped children may be in even greater need of skills in these areas than in that of academic performance and achievement. We make the case in this paper that children's social development, which encompasses both teacher-child and peer-to-peer behavioral competencies, should be a major focus of the schooling process and a significant criterion variable in the evaluation of schooling effectiveness.

Teacher Expectations and the Mainstreaming Process

In traditional educational practice, regular classroom teachers have been able to construct relatively homogeneous classes of pupils by referring children with special learning and behavior problems to self-contained restrictive educational settings for instruction, remediation, and accommodation. Until fairly recently, the educational community taught regular teachers that they were primarily responsible for the education of only those children who fall approximately ± one standard deviation from the mean on intellectual, sensory, physical, academic, and behavioral measures of performance. Children falling outside these limits have been primarily the responsibility of special education. Historically, this practice was well established in public school systems and reflected the symbiotic relation between regular and special education: Regular educators were negatively reinforced to refer handicapped children, and special educators were positively reinforced to prompt and receive such referrals. This practice no doubt accounts for some resistance by school systems to the policy of mainstreaming. More seriously, perhaps, the practice contributed to the development of a very narrow set of behavioral standards and expectations among regular teachers along with limited tolerance for significant diversity in child performance and behavior. Given the consequent greatly reduced pupil heterogeneity, the practice also made academic programming, in general, much easier than would otherwise have been the case. Moreover, it deprived regular teachers of both the incentive and opportunity to develop skills in accommodating children who put pressure on teachers' instructional and management skills. If a teacher feels that a handicapped child does not belong in the regular classroom because he or she falls outside the range of the teacher's tolerance, then the outcomes are not likely to be positive for either teacher or student. This situation occurred frequently in the past and likely will be repeated often if mainstreaming continues to be the dominant service delivery vehicle for the majority of handicapped children in the decade of the 1980s.

Public Law 94-142 has generated powerful pressures for regular teachers to accommodate handicapped children in their classrooms and for the schools to assume responsibility for the children's education and overall development. Traditionally, regular educators have neither developed the technical management/instructional skills necessary to accommodate handicapped children nor assumed direct responsibility for their education and development. Special educators assumed this function via a direct service model. Survey research shows that teachers do not feel either competent or comfortable in accommodating handicapped children (MacMillan, Jones, & Meyers, 1976; Sarason & Doris, 1978). However, they respond much more positively and effectively to the academic needs of handicapped children than they do to the children's nonacademic, social behavior deficits and problems (e.g., self-abuse, inappropriate sexual behavior, stereotypic behavior, noncompliance, etc.).

It is likely that teachers express expectations for children's social behavior in the same way that they form and communicate academic expectations. That is, teachers indicate to children that they should behave in a certain fashion in order to meet the teachers' standards and expectations. Those children who cannot (handicapped students) or will not (disruptive students) meet the standards and expectations are, perhaps, at much greater risk, in terms of development and achievement, than are children who fall within the range of teachers' acceptance.

At present, we do not know what an optimal profile of teachers' standards and expectations for either academic or social behavior would look like. No doubt, some teachers' standards/expectations would be quite inappropriate in the sense of being either too restrictive or too lax. Their classrooms probably would not be good settings for accommodating the needs of handicapped children.

Unfortunately, research has shown that the socio-economic status of children has a powerful influence on the formation of differential teacher expectations for academic performance (Brophy & Good, 1974). It is likely that teachers' expectations for both the academic and social behaviors manifested by children are mediated by such additional factors as (a) sex of student; (b) labels; (c) presence of handicap and the severity of the condition; and (d) variables specific to the teacher; for example, sex of teacher, years of teaching, type of setting(s) taught in, preparation, exposure to inservice training and so forth (Mandell & Strain, 1978; Smith & Greenburg, 1975). Despite these potential mediating variables, teachers appear to have minimal standards and expectations for *all* children assigned to their classrooms. Unless a child were obviously not capable, most teachers would be unlikely to view a failure to meet their minimum social behavior standards as the result of an inability to do so. In such a case, the teacher might conclude that a child is inappropriately placed. With the possible exception of handicapped children, teachers rarely are willing to adjust their behavioral standards and expectations downward to accommodate a specific child.

Lynn correctly argues that successful mainstreaming will require massive changes in both teacher attitudes and long-established educational practices. In fact, educators seem to be in broad agreement that teachers' attitudes toward mainstreaming and their expectations for handicapped children are crucial determinants of the success of this policy change (Alexander & Strain, 1978; Jones, 1978; Keogh & Levitt, 1976; MacMillan, Jones, & Meyers, 1976; Mandell & Strain, 1978). To date, special educators have not systematically taken into account the social behavior standards and expectations of regular classroom teachers who receive the children who are being mainstreamed. A methodology is needed that will allow for the evaluation and selection of receiving classroom settings and will provide for the preparation of handicapped children to meet the minimal behavioral requirements there. We describe some beginning steps and initial results in the development of such a methodology in a later section of this paper.

Teacher Expectations and Schooling Effectiveness

Glass' reference to George's account of Ms. Russell's teaching behavior is a good starting point for a discussion of the teaching-effectiveness literature. Ms. Russell's class is a wonderful specific example of the general findings in the recent schooling and classroom effectiveness literature. Ms. Russel clearly communicates high expectations for all her students ("if you expect them to be normal and behave, whatever normal is, whatever behave is, you can kind of expect that they will"), requires an orderly and disciplined classroom ("I cannot tolerate confusion and chaos"), and demands maximum student work ("to have kids organized in such a way [they] know what is expected of them").

Teachers' expectations that all kids can learn and the constant demand that students work hard, keep showing up as potent influences in effective teaching. A common theme in the literature is that learning stems from the purposeful effort or work of students which, in turn, stems from effective work conditions. The important task of the teacher is to establish and maintain the students' work conditions (Duckworth, 1981).

Related to teacher expectations is the Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study (BTES) that links student work to the concept of academic learning time (ALT) and ALT to achievement. ALT is defined as the amount of time students spend working successfully on tasks relevant to classroom learning objectives. Thus, ALT is a result of teacher time allocations and student use of that time as well as of the coherence of the curriculum and the appropriateness of the task-assignment rules. Teachers are in control of these variables and manifest them in their expectations and demands for students' appropriate use of time. Teachers establish the work agenda (tasks prescribed, content presented, feedback provided), allocate resources to the agenda, and generate incentives. Teacher-work thus sustains the student-work structure. This instructional approach has been called "direct instruction," in contrast to the open education approach that focus on students' interest and exploration as the driving force for classroom work. A number of studies (Becker & Carnine, 1980; Cooley & Leinhardt, 1980; Hanson & Schutz, 1978; Stallings, 1979) have confirmed the efficacy of direct instruction with respect to students' work and achievement in basic skills areas.

But, there is more. Classroom social behavior is another issue which teachers must face as part of the condition of moving toward greater academic achievement. Handling students' misbehavior and communicating expectations for classroom comportment, as Ms. Russell clearly did, is another area of teacher control. The BTES research found that negative reprimands for inappropriate child behavior are negatively associated with student achievement. Kounin's classic work in classroom discipline showed that a teacher's sense of "withitness" was an important variable in not allowing one student's problems to bring other students' work to a halt. Recent work by Slavin (1980) demonstrated that teachers may find cooperative learning tasks for students to be a useful way of combining peer social incentives and teachers' academic work incentives. The BTES researchers noted that "a learning environment characterized by student responsibility for academic work and by cooperation on academic tasks is associated with high achievement" (Fisher, Berliner et al., 1980, p. 27).

There seems to be little doubt that children's social behavior in the classroom can either facilitate or compete with academic achievement. However, social development is an important educational goal in its own right. To Strain, Cooke, and Appolloni (1976), the importance of social-emotional education in the total development of children has long been recognized; furthermore, according to the authors, this area of need has been largely unmet by the schooling process.

The importance of social development and social skills training is being increasingly recognized by the mental health professions, leaders in the field of special education, and, to a lesser extent, regular educators. Stephens (1981) suggested that teaching socially desirable behavior no doubt will be the *Zeitgeist* of the next decade, and the rising tide of published texts on theoretical and practical aspects of teaching positive social behavior are salient indications of this professional interest. In the last five years, there has been a tremendous increase in research activity in the area of teaching social skills to both *nonhandicapped* (Gottman, Gonso, & Schuler, 1976; Hops, 1980; Keller & Carlson, 1974; LaGreca & Santogrossi, 1980; Michelson, 1980; Oden & Asher, 1977; Van Hasselt, Hersen, Whitehill, & Bellack, 1979) and *handicapped* (Asher & Taylor, 1981; LaGreca & Mesibov, 1979, 1981; Matson, Esveldt-Dawson, Andrasik, Ollendick, Petti, & Hersen, in press) populations.

These outcomes, doubtless, result from the new awareness of the importance of social behavior to a variety of adjustments in vocational, academic, and interpersonal areas (Stephens, 1981) and the recognition of the importance of relationships to the growth of social competence (Asher & Taylor, 1981; Hartup, 1979). In addition, retrospective studies increasingly show that children who are incompetent in social relations with peers are likely to be at serious developmental risk. Socially isolated, incompetent children are more likely to (a) develop juvenile delinquency (Roff, Sells, & Golden, 1972); (b) drop out of school (Ullman, 1957); (c) receive bad conduct discharges from the armed forces (Roff, 1961); and (d) experience mental health problems in adulthood (Cowen, Pederson, Babigan et al., 1973). Conversely, high social status in childhood has been related to superior academic achievement (Laughlin, 1954; Muma, 1965; 1968) and adequate interpersonal adjustment in later life (Barclay, 1966).

Studies of handicapped children in mainstream settings show that they are consistently less accepted and more rejected by their peers than are nonhandicapped children (Bruininks, 1978; Bryan, 1974; Gottlieb, Semmel, & Veldman, 1978; LaGreca & Mesibov, 1979; Siperstein, Bopp, & Bak, 1978). The implications of these findings strongly argue for the development of training procedures in social skills to improve the social competence and acceptance of handicapped children, and for the exposure of the handicapped children's normal peers to such training whenever feasible. Training procedures in the area of social skills can be incorporated into curricula and taught in the same way as are academic skills. Then, sociometric measures could be administered to detect changes in social competence which are attributable to such instruction in the same way that achievement tests are used to measure academic growth.

The issues of expectations and competencies in the area of academic and social behavior functioning are central to our particular research focus on mainstreaming. But effective classrooms do not easily come into being or continue to flourish unless they are in school building environments that promote those conditions that reinforce what Glass and the other researchers cited are advocating. To this end, research on effective schools has begun to delineate a set of school-wide variables that reinforce the need to be concerned with teachers' and students' work.

Howsam points out "Effective schools demand strong teachers working in situations where the conditions for learning and teaching are favorable. Our school systems have never come close to meeting such conditions, and the situation has been exacerbated by the developments of the past three decades." Studies of relatively effective schools validate Howsam's conclusion. Where conditions for learning and teaching are favorable, students learn, and it is becoming clearer that such conditions must pervade the school as well as individual classrooms. Properly educated teachers and appropriate school-wide conditions together create a learning-work agenda that guarantees learning. A short summary of research on effective schools can help to sort out these conditions for effectiveness.

1. Weber (1971) studied four instructionally effective inner-city schools and found (a) high expectations for all students, (b) orderly atmosphere, (c) frequent evaluations of students' progress (feedback), and (d) strong leadership by the principal. In addition, Weber stressed the importance of teachers being optimistic about their ability to affect student achievement, what we refer to in other studies as the "sense of efficacy."

2. Madden and others (1976) examined 21 pairs of elementary schools in California and found the following factors in the more effective schools:

(a) frequent monitoring of pupil progress, (b) school-wide task orientation, (c) orderly atmosphere, and (d) support by the principal.

3. Brookover et al. (1977), in their Michigan studies, cited (a) expectations that all students could learn, (b) teachers on task, and (c) high expectations. Further, they pointed out that students in more effective schools feel that the system is not stacked against them and that teachers care about their performance.

4. Edmond's (1979) research in the New York City Public Schools led to the identification of (a) high expectations, (b) orderly atmosphere, (c) strong administrative leadership, and (d) emphasis on student progress.

5. Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith (1979), working in London, England, found that a particularly positive learning atmosphere and a set of norms, values, and behaviors which the authors called "ethos" were associated with more effective schools. Among a host of variables they cited (a) orderly atmosphere, (b) high teacher efficacy, (c) high student and teacher time on task, (d) obvious teacher caring, and (e) high common expectations for behavior and academic achievement. Rutter et al. also noted that in effective schools students understand the reason for the rules, believe that teachers care, and accept the opportunities they are given to take responsibility for their own behavior.

6. Coleman (1981), reporting on his study of private and public schools, cited order, high expectations, and homework as variables accounting for more as opposed to less effective schools.

7. Using a more ethnographic approach to the study of effective schools, Wynne (1980) defined good schools as having a sense of coherence ("ethos" in the language of Rutter et al. and, perhaps, Glass' "tone"). Such coherence is the result of (a) pervasive caring, (b) incentives for learning, (c) high expectations, and (d) a clear school-wide communication system regarding learning objectives and rules.

8. Howey (1980), in a study conducted for the Far West Lab, described the effective elementary school he investigated as one where attributes included (a) a high sense of teacher efficacy, (b) high expectations for students, and (c) strong administrative leadership.

Clearly, the evidence is mounting for a structural dimension of effective schooling that is not much different from what other contributors to this book have presented. And the composite picture of both school and classroom looks remarkedly like the description by Ms. Russell: (a) high sense of efficacy, (b) pervasive caring, (c) clear objectives, (d) high expectations, and (e) orderly and disciplined instruction.

These attributes are compelling, not only because research has begun to identify them as the most salient, but also because intuitively they seem to be so obvious. Indeed, they are among the conditions of effective schooling and teaching called for by Howsam and Glass. And they are appealing to the public. Take the case of Marva Collins, who was featured on T.V. in a segment of "60 Minutes" (CBS) and then on a CBS Network special ("Hall of Fame," December 1, 1981). A Chicago elementary teacher for 19 years, Ms. Collins, by her own admission, had failed in her attempt to teach black children, hence she quit in order to open a 35-pupil school in her house. The "60 Minutes" program showed her as the supremely successful teacher in her new setting. It is instructive to note her new teaching conditions: (a) The children were enrolled by parents who chose her school, and most paid extra for that privilege. (b) The students knew they could and would be expelled if their behavior did not match the teacher's standards. (c) Ms. Collins was a bear for time on task; she eliminated recess and such "frills" as physical education. (d) She held very high expectations. (e) She had a high sense of efficacy.

The resulting public praise of Ms. Collins resulted in a replay of the program by demand and the subsequent nomination of Ms. Collins for Secretary of Education! She declined the offer.

In the best summary of the literature on effective schools, Tomlinson (1981b) stated that school resources are not the first or generic cause of learning.

> The ability and effort of the child is the prime cause, and the task of the schools is to enable children to use their abilities and efforts in the most efficient and effective manner. In the last analysis, that translates as undistracted work, and neither schools nor research have discovered methods or resources that obviate this fact. . . . We should take comfort from the emerging evidence: it signifies a situation we can alter. The common thread of meaning in all that research has disclosed tells us that academically effective schools are "merely" schools organized on behalf of the consistent and undeviating pursuit of learning. The parties to the enterprise—principals, teachers, parents and *fait accompli* students—coalesce on the purpose, justification and methods of schooling. Their common energies are spent on teaching and learning in a systematic fashion. They are serious about, even dedicated to, the proposition that children can and shall learn in schools. No special treatment and no magic, just the provision of the necessary conditions for learning (p. 376).

In our most romantic moments, we believe that properly trained teachers and appropriate schooling conditions are the salvation for all children. Our research is based on that assumption and, although we have not yet discovered the secret of how to create these conditions, we believe that we have begun to get a handle on two of the variables: teacher expectations and teacher efficacy. They are listed as important in the cited research and are potentially salient for the creation of optimal mainstreaming conditions. We suspect an interaction here. Teachers who have a high sense of efficacy probably have the psychological security of expecting that their students can learn more. Conversely, when high expectations are fulfilled they must reinforce a sense of teacher potency. Persall (1977) examined the effect of teacher expectations and found that they are influenced by pupil characteristics, such as race, class, test scores, and, we would add, handicaps. She further suggested that differences in teachers' expectations are associated with differences in the amount of interaction with students, personal warmth, use of encouragement, pace of teaching, and provision for student response. Our initial research results seem to validate her findings as they relate to mainstreamed classrooms.

In the remainder of this paper we describe some research in progress in which we are attempting to measure teachers' social-behavior standards and expectations in relation to children's behavior, and tolerance levels for the behavioral correlates of some children's handicapping conditions. We expect the information yielded by this assessment process to be useful in the selection of placement settings for handicapped pupils and in the preparation of handicapped children to enter and survive there.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR SURVIVAL: PREPARING HANDICAPPED CHILDREN FOR THE REALITIES OF MAINSTREAM CLASSROOMS

There can be little doubt about the merits of mainstreaming as a general educational strategy and goal for special education programming. However, some massive logistical barriers impinge upon the task of making effective mainstreaming a reality for the majority of handicapped children who are enrolled in least restrictive settings. These barriers include (a) the technical competence required of regular educators to accommodate the special needs of handicapped children, especially those who are severely handicapped; (b) the provision of sufficient diversity, specialization, and individualization in educational programming to accommodate the needs of handicapped children in regular classrooms; (c) the task of persuading regular educators that a mainstreamed handicapped child is *their* responsibility and that many handicapped children require and are entitled to the investment of extraordinary amounts of time, energy, and specialized assistance just to achieve what is for them a normal rate of progress; and (d) the task of expanding the tolerance levels or limits of regular classroom teachers for kinds of children's social behaviors which they are not used to seeing and/or are not willing to accept. These by no means represent the only barriers to mainstreaming; overcoming them, however, appears to be crucial to the eventual success of mainstreaming.

We consider barriers (a) and (b) to be far easier to overcome than barriers (c) and (d). The introduction of increasingly specialized forms of instruction into the regular classroom, direct supportive services for regular educators, and both inservice and pre-service training in the technology of special education programming all will contribute to overcoming barriers (a) and (b). Barriers (c) and (d), which comprise the attitudes, expectancies, and standards that are taught to regular educators in university training programs and are reinforced by long-established school practices, likely will prove to be highly intractable.

Special educators, the supervisors of the mainstreaming process at district levels and providers of either direct or indirect supportive services to regular classroom teachers, consistently report that the greatest obstacle of mainstreaming is the social behaviors displayed by some handicapped children in mainstream settings. Regular teachers are unaccustomed to working with children who (a) frequently engage in tantrums, (b) bite themselves and/or engage in head banging, (c) utter nonsense syllables to themselves and others, (d) masturbate openly, (e) make excessive demands on the teacher, (f) hit other children, (g) are incontinent, and (h) do not listen to teachers' instructions or comply with them. Such children place severe burdens upon the management skills of most regular classroom teachers. These and similar social behaviors can seriously impair a handicapped child's development by (a) reducing his/her responsiveness to supervising adults and peers and (b) competing directly with the instructional process. Teachers are accustomed to a certain level of appropriate behaviors in pupils before dispensing instruction, especially direct instruction, which is critical to many handicapped children if they are to acquire academic skills. Significant numbers of handicapped children fall far short of their teachers' behavioral standards on this dimension, thus their development and school adjustment are impaired. The long-term consequences of this situation can be very serious for handicapped children who are and will continue to be mainstreamed.

The usual school district's response to this situation has been to proceed with mainstreaming and to deal with problems that emerge on a case-by-case basis. The postures of regular classroom teachers who take on the responsibilities of instructing handicapped children and of consulting special education personnel who provide supportive services have been somewhat antagonistic in the process of accommodating handicapped children in mainstream settings; that is, special educators serve as advocates for handicapped children and try to obtain the best services available for them within the mainstream, whereas classroom teachers are highly reactive to the demands imposed by the handicapped children's needs (Hunter, 1978). The conflict between the two groups is nowhere in greater evidence than in their perspectives on the social behavior repertoires of some mainstreamed handicapped children. The majority of regular teachers have very low tolerance levels for such social behavior, even from handicapped children. Therefore they may conclude that any handicapped child who is perceived as having an unacceptable social behavior repertoire does not belong in a mainstream setting and cannot succeed in it. Although the perception may be false, the teacher's attitude may make it a self-fulfilling prophecy! Further, regular teachers often argue that if a child's social behavior disrupts the classroom atmosphere and disturbs other children, then it deprives the other children of needed teacher's time and attention. The extent to which such arguments actually are based on facts varies from case to case. However, the simple possession of such attitudes has a profound impact on teachers' responses to handicapped children and to the accommodation of their needs (Anderson, 1971; Beez, 1970; Brophy & Evertson, 1981; Brophy & Good, 1970, 1974; Meichenbaum, Bowers & Ross, 1968; Rist, 1970, Rubovits & Maehr, 1971).

How should the educational community respond to this situation? One approach could be to appeal to the professionalism of regular educators to try to change their attitudes and broaden their tolerance levels and expectations for handicapped children. To date, only meager efforts to change teachers' attitudes and expectations have been reported in the literature. The success of these efforts is not at all clear; we have no information on whether changed attitudes correlate with changes in teachers' behaviors with respect to mainstreaming. This is a laudable goal and one that probably will be achieved eventually. However, it has only minimal functional utility in the short run (i.e., within the next 10-15 years). Much stronger, more immediate, and more direct measures are required to cope with the current situation. We see some needs or tasks that are of critical importance in this area; they must be responded to in the process of developing strategies for coping with the problem.

1. The social behavior standards and expectancies of regular educators must be taken into account systematically in the mainstreaming process. Procedures must be available to assess these standards across teachers (i.e., to establish the normative criteria and limits in natural settings). Further, the specific and idiosyncratic standards of individual receiving teachers (i.e., teachers to whose classrooms handicapped children are assigned) must also be assessed as part of the placement/integration process. This procedure would have the effect of (a) providing for the systematic assessment of potential mainstream settings and (b) communicating to the teachers that their social behavior standards will be considered in the mainstreaming process. Several researchers and scholars have called for the development of such measures to assess the behavioral demand level(s) in mainstream settings (Forness, 1977; Grosenick, 1971). However, such measures do not appear to be currently available.

2. Procedures must be developed for a one-to-one correspondence between the social behavior concerns of receiving regular classroom teachers and the social behavior repertoires of mainstreamed handicapped children. At present, child-study team-assessment procedures and data frequently bear only a *general* relation to programming efforts for handicapped children. In many instances, these data are geared toward certifying the eligibility of such children for services rather than providing a basis for instructional programming (Walker, 1978). General, global assessments of this nature are not sufficient for the task of remediating the maladaptive, inappropriate and/or injurious social behaviors found in some mainstreamed handicapped children.

3. When a receiving teacher's social behavior standards and expectancies are reliably identified, procedures must be established to (a) assess a handicapped child's behavioral status in relation to these standards; (b) reduce and/or eliminate specific social behaviors which the teacher views as unacceptable in the regular classroom (e.g., masturbation, hitting, biting, etc.); and (c) teach the child those positive social behaviors (e.g., compliance with specific instructions, working on assigned tasks, cooperating with others) which the teacher may consider essential to successful adjustment in the classroom. Essentially, the handicapped child is trained (prior to reintegration whenever possible) in a social behavior repertoire that will contribute directly to successful adjustment in a mainstream setting.

4. After the handicapped child is placed (or reintegrated) in the classroom, her or his social behavior must be monitored carefully and frequently to insure that (a) the child's social behavior repertoire is appropriate and (b) if difficulties are encountered, support personnel are available to respond to them. Assessments provide direct information to a regular classroom teacher on the quality of a child's social behavior, a judgment that teachers do not always make accurately when they rely on subjectively derived information (e.g., anecdotal impressions gathered over time).

5. When the handicapped child has adjusted successfully to the mainstream setting and his or her behavior pattern has stabilized within the teacher's range of tolerance or acceptability, procedures must be devised to train the classroom teacher to manage the child's behavior successfully with only minimal consultative support or the lack of it. This is an extremely crucial component of any strategy for the long-term satisfactory maintenance of handicapped children in least restrictive settings.

We consider these five elements to be the minimal components necessary to a strategy that permits effective coping with the social behavior problems of some handicapped children. A validated and replicated service delivery model of this type should prove extremely valuable to special educators in facilitating the mainstreaming process. Further, the model could be highly cost effective and would fit easily into the service delivery systems of most school districts.

The development and validation of this model would directly benefit the following groups of individuals: (a) mainstreamed children with a range of handicapping conditions and levels of severity; (b) receiving regular classroom teachers; (c) special education and other school personnel who provide supportive services (direct or indirect) to regular teachers in the mainstreaming process; and (d) child study teams who must determine appropriate placements for handicapped children, evaluate the relative accommodative capacity of such settings for the children, and estimate the children's chances of survival in them. Handicapped children who are exposed to this strategy would be in the position to acquire a behavior pattern that could produce the following outcomes: (a) increase their social responsiveness to adults and other children, (b) directly facilitate academic performance and learning, and (c) contribute to a satisfactory social-emotional-behavioral adjustment both in and outside the school setting. In effect this model would increase the probability of a handicapped child's survival in the educational mainstream by directly teaching him or her the social behavior skills and competencies which are judged essential for satisfactory performance in the mainstream.

Currently, we are carrying on some research on the mainstreaming process that is designed to develop and test a model service delivery program of this general type. The model measures teachers' expectations and social behavior standards in relation to specific classes of adaptive and maladaptive children's behavior and assesses teachers' tolerance levels in relation to those behavioral characteristics that frequently are associated with handicapping conditions. This information is then used to select potential placement settings and to determine the minimal behavioral requirements handicapped children must meet in order to gain entry to the settings.

Our focus is not on differential performance expectations which teachers hold for children in their classrooms but on the social behavior standards and tolerance levels that teachers hold for children in general. As used in this context, social behavior standards and expectations refer to the relative importance or demand level which teachers place on different classes of children's appropriate behavior (e.g., complying with teachers' requests, making assistance needs known, following established classroom rules) and the degree to which teachers accept or reject maladaptive forms of children's behavior in the classroom (e.g., child disturbs or disrupts the activities of others, refuses to share, ignores teacher warnings). Similarly, tolerance levels refer to the extent to which teachers would resist the placement of children who manifest conditions or characteristics that often are associated with handicaps (e.g., child cannot write, is eneuretic, has limited self-help skills, etc.). These standards/expectations and tolerance levels may be as powerful determinants of teacher behavior, classroom ecology, and outcomes for children as performance expectations are for academic achievement. To date, a methodology has not been formulated for providing direct measures of them or identifying their behavioral effects.

We have developed and are in the process of validating some indirect and direct assessment instruments to measure these variables with respect to the mainstreaming process. The primary instrument for measuring teacher social behavior standards and expectations is the 107-item *Inventory of Teacher Social Behavior Standards and Expectations* (SBS), devised by Hill M. Walker and Richard Rankin (1980a). The instrument is divided into three sections.

The first contains 56 overt descriptions of adaptive, appropriate children's behaviors. The items describe both teacher-child and peer-to-peer skills/competencies that are relevant to classroom achievement and adjustment. The teacher is asked to rate these items according to one of three judgments: (a) critical, (b) desirable, or (c) unimportant. This rating dimension assesses how important the teacher views possession of the skill or competency to be to successful adjustment in his or her classroom. Some sample items and the Section I rating format follow:

	Critical	Desirable	Unimportant
1. Child is flexible and can adjust to different instructional situations, e.g., changes in routine, teachers, settings, etc.	( )	( )	( )
2. Child listens while other children are speaking, e.g., as in circle or sharing time.	( )	( )	( )
3. Child seeks teacher attention at appropriate times.	( )	( )	( )

Section II contains descriptions of 51 maladaptive, inappropriate behaviors that disrupt classroom adjustment and interfere with children's social development. Teachers rate each of these behaviors along an unacceptability dimension, that is, whether the behavior is (a) unacceptable, (b) tolerated, or (c) acceptable. "Tolerated" means that although the rater would prefer to see the behavior reduced in frequency and/or replaced by an appropriate behavior, he or she is willing to put up with it (at least temporarily). Sample items from Section II and the rating format follow:

	Unacceptable	Tolerated	Accepted
1. Child whines.	( )	( )	( )
2. Child tests or challenges teacher-imposed limits, e.g., classroom rules.	( )	( )	( )
3. Child disturbs or disrupts the activities of others.	( )	( )	( )

Section III measures the teacher's technical assistance needs with respect to items rated critical and unacceptable in Sections I and II, respectively. For critical items, the teacher is asked to indicate whether the child's skill or competency must be mastered prior to or after integration into the classroom and whether technical assistance is required by the teacher to develop it. For items rated unacceptable, the teacher indicates whether the child must be within normal limits on the behavior prior to or following integration into the classroom and, if following, whether technical assistance is needed to remediate it. Information produced by this instrument can be extremely valuable in selecting placements for handicapped children, preparing them for entry into the settings, and determining the technical assistance needed by the teachers to remediate specific children's behaviors.

When the SBS, the contents of which deal with children's social behavior, was developed it became apparent that a second instrument was needed to assess teacher-tolerance levels in relation to conditions and characteristics often associated with handicapping conditions. A checklist, *Correlates of Child Handicapping Conditions* (Walker & Rankin, 1980b), was constructed to assess this variable. It consists of 24 items and includes instructions to teachers to indicate those items that would cause him or her to resist placement of a child manifesting the condition or characteristic. Some sample items follow:

(1) Child has severely disfluent speech and/or impaired language.

(2) Child requires specialized and/or adapted instructional materials to progress academically

(3) Child has deficient self-help skills, e.g., dressing, feeding, toileting

After the teacher has responded to each item, he or she is asked to review the items checked and to indicate whether the provision of technical assistance—ranging from an aide to a special education consultant—would cause any response to be changed; that is, placement would not be resisted because of that condition.

The content of these items defines the correlates of children's handicapping conditions that require special provisions in the classroom setting and, often, special teaching skills as well. The items in this list can be used to negotiate with mainstream classroom teachers about the conditions and logistical demands of mainstreaming. They can be used also in conjunction with the SBS inventory to eliminate the classrooms of certain teachers from consideration as potential placements for handicapped children.

These 2 instruments were administered on 2 occasions 6 weeks apart during the 1979-80 school to an initial validation sample of 50 regular classroom teachers and 22 special education teachers of children in the elementary school-age range. The analyses of these data are producing some interesting findings.

Teachers' social behavior standards and expectations appear to be very stable among both regular classroom and special education teachers. Test-retest correlations of inventory scores over a 6-week period were .82 for regular teachers and .86 for special educators. Both groups are very similar in the level and degree of importance they assign to adaptive classroom behavior and the degree of tolerance they show for maladaptive, inappropriate behavior. (See Table 1 for a summary of teacher responses to the SBS Inventory and Checklist). Regular and special education teachers also are very similar in the actual adaptive behaviors (SBS, Section I) they rate as most and least important and in the maladaptive behaviors (SBS, Section II) they rate as least and most acceptable. Table 2 shows the highest and lowest rated items for regular and special education teachers in Sections I and II of the SBS Inventory.

Several observations follow on the content of these items and the degree of item congruence among regular and special educators. For example, the content of the highest rated 10 adaptive items by regular teachers deals almost exclusively with classroom control, general discipline, and compliance with teacher directives, instructions, and commands. Special educators agree on 5 out of 10 of these items in their ratings (see Table 2). The four remaining high-rated items by special educators also deal with classroom control, discipline, and related behaviors. Children who do not exhibit these behaviors/competencies at a sufficient *rate* or *frequency* would be labeled "problematic" or "deficient" by most teachers.

The lowest rated items in Section I (i.e., the least important of the 56) have a heavy peer-social-behavior content. That is, they describe adaptive, appropriate social behaviors that either occur between peers or are peer oriented. Special educators agree on 8 out of 10 of these low-rated items. It appears from these data that teachers do not assign a great deal of importance to social relations among peers, at least as compared to child

Table 1

Responses of Regular and Special Education Teachers
to Inventory and Checklist Items

SBS Inventory

Section I (Adaptive Items) 56 in number

	Regular Teachers		Special Education Teachers	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Critical	12.78	13.12	9.13	12.62
Desirable	39.70	12.30	40.63	12.14
Unimportant	3.50	5.80	6.22	8.60

Section II (Maladaptive Items) 51 in number

	Regular Teachers		Special Education Teachers	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Unacceptable	27.96	9.14	25.22	12.76
Tolerated	22.22	8.79	25.00	12.35
Acceptable	.82	1.73	.77	1.79

SBS Checklist

	Regular Teachers		Special Education Teachers	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Number of Items *checked*	10.81	4.46	5.85	3.92
Number of checked Items *circled*	6.21	3.65	4.66	3.01

Technical Assistance Needs

Section I

	Regular		Special	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
(a)	2.36	6.57	1.45	3.20
(b)	3.00	3.41	2.54	5.20
(c)	7.36	9.92	4.95	9.83

Section II

	Regular		Special	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
(a)	6.10	6.91	2.86	4.94
(b)	11.20	6.48	8.95	6.91
(c)	9.64	8.53	13.36	11.63

Table 2

High- and Low-Rated Items for Regular and Special Education Teachers Across Sections I and II of the SBS Inventory

I. High Rated Items - Section I

A. Regular Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
12.	Child complies with teacher commands	2.68	.47
17.	Child follows established classroom rules	2.58	.49
15.	Child produces work of acceptable quality given her/his skill level	2.48	.50
10.	Child listens carefully to teacher instructions and directions for assignments	2.40	.49
46.	Child expresses anger appropriately, e.g., reacts to situation without being violent or destructive	2.40	.49
18.	Child can have normal conversations with peers without becoming hostile or angry	2.38	.53
25.	Child behaves appropriately in non-classroom settings (bathroom, hallways, lunchroom, playground), e.g., walks quietly, follows playground rules, etc.	2.36	.52
34.	Child avoids breaking classroom rule(s) even when encouraged by a peer	2.36	.52
50.	Child does seatwork assignment as directed	2.36	.48
9.	Child makes his/her assistance needs known in an appropriate manner, e.g., asks to go to the bathroom, raises hand when finished with work, asks for help with work, lets teacher know when sick or hurt	2.34	.51

High-Rated Items - Section I (Cont.)

B. Special Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
12.	Child complies with teach commands	2.40	.50
17.	Child follows established classroom rules	2.36	.49
46.	Child expresses anger appropriately, e.g., reacts to situation without being violent or destructive	2.36	.49
56.*	Child responds to conventional behavior management techniques	2.36	.58
44.*	Child observes rules governing movement around the room, e.g., when and how to move	2.31	.56
48.*	Child uses classroom equipment and materials correctly	2.27	.45
50.	Child does seatwork assignments as directed	2.27	.45
1.*	Child is flexible and can adjust to different instructional situations, e.g., changes in routine, teachers, setting, etc.	2.22	.42
10.	Child listens carefully to teacher instructions and directions for assignments	2.22	.52
9.	Child makes her/his assistance needs known in an appropriate manner, e.g., asks to go to the bathroom, raises hand when finished with work, asks for help with work, lets teacher know when sick or hurt	2.18	.50

II. Low-Rated Items / Section I
A. Regular Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
51.	Child sits up straight in seat during classroom instruction	1.64	.52
11.	Child volunteers for classroom activities, e.g., assisting the teacher, reading aloud, classroom games, etc.	1.76	.47
47.	Child initiates conversation with peers in informal situations	1.78	.41
20.	Child compliments peers regarding some attribute or behavior	1.82	.43
43.	Child uses social conventions appropriately, e.g., says "thank you," "please," apologizes, etc.	1.84	.46
55.	Child can recognize and describe moods/feelings of others and self	1.88	.38
26.	Child resolves peer conflicts or problems adequately on her/his own without requesting teacher assistance	1.96	.28
19.	Child can work on projects in class with another student	2.04	.49
29.	Child ignores the distractions or interruptions of other students during academic activities	2.04	.49
45.	Child responds to teasing or name calling by ignoring, changing the subject or some other constructive means	2.04	.34

Low-Rated Items - Section I (Cont.)

B. Special Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
11.	Child volunteers for classroom activities, e.g., assisting the teacher, reading aloud, classroom games, etc.	1.54	.50
51.	Child sits up straight in seat during classroom instruction	1.54	.59
20.	Child compliments peers regarding some attribute or behavior	1.59	.50
19.	Child can work on projects in class with another student	1.68	.47
55.	Child can recognize and describe moods/feelings of others and self	1.72	.55
33.*	Child can follow teacher written instructions and directions	1.81	.50
43.	Child uses social conventions appropriately, e.g., says "thank you," "please," apologizes, etc.	1.81	.58
47.	Child initiates conversation with peers in informal situations	1.81	.39
36.*	Child is honest with others, e.g., tells the truth, isn't deceptive	1.90	.42
26.	Child resolves peer conflicts or problems adequately on her/his own without requesting teacher assistance	1.95	.37

III. High-Rated Items - Section II
A. Regular Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
25.	Child steals	2.98	.14
44.	Child is self-abusive, e.g., biting, cutting, or bruising self, head banging, etc.	2.98	.14
29.	Child behaves inappropriately in class when corrected, e.g., shouts back, defies the teacher, etc.	2.96	.19
17.	Child is physically aggressive with others, e.g., hits, bites, chokes, holds	2.94	.23
34.	Child makes lewd or obscene gestures	2.92	.27
43.	Child engages in inappropriate sexual behavior, e.g., masturbates, exposes self, etc.	2.92	.27
13.	Child refuses to obey teacher imposed classroom rules	2.90	.30
22.	Child damages others' property, e.g., academic materials, personal possessions, etc.	2.90	.30
4.	Child has tantrums	2.88	.32
16.	Child ignores teacher warnings or reprimands	2.88	.32

High-Rated Items - Section II (Cont.)

B. Special Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
17.	Child is physically aggressive with others, e.g., hits, bites, chokes, holds	2.95	.21
22.	Child damages others' property, e.g., academic materials, personal possessions, etc.	2.95	.21
43.	Chid engages in inappropriate sexual behavior, e.g., masturbates, exposes self, etc.	2.90	.29
44.	Child is self-abusive, e.g., biting, cutting or bruising self, head banging, etc.	2.90	.29
13.	Child refuses to obey teacher imposed classroom rules	2.86	.35
16.	Child ignores teacher warnings or reprimands	2.81	.39
25.	Child steals	2.81	.39
29.	Child behaves inappropriately in class when corrected, e.g., shouts back, defies teacher, etc.	2.81	.39
37.*	Child creates a disturbance during class activities, e.g., is excessively noisy, bothers other students, is out of seat, etc.	2.81	.39
24.*	Child reacts with defiance to instructions or commands	2.77	.42

IV. Low-Rated Items - Section II
A. Regular Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
21.	Child ignores the social initiations (overtures, advances, etc.) of other children	1.96	.40
45.	Child wants to participate in playground activity in progress but is afraid to ask to join	2.02	.37
28.	Child refuses to play in games with other children	2.06	.42
15.	Child pouts or sulks	2.08	.34
8.	Child refuses to share	2.16	.54
3.	Child is easily distracted from the task or activity at hand	2.18	.38
38.	Child is overly affectionate with other children and/or adults, e.g., touching, hugging, kissing	2.18	.52
50.	Child's remarks or questions are irrelevant to classroom discussions	2.18	.43
1.	Child whines	2.20	.40
19.	Child becomes visibly upset or angry when things to do not go her/his way	2.20	.45

Low-Rated Items - Section II (Cont.)

B. Special Education Teachers

No.	Item Content	Mean	Standard Deviation
21.	Child ignores the social initiations (overtures, advances, etc.) of other children	1.90	.42
45.	Child wants to participate in playground activity in progress but is afraid to ask to join	2.00	.43
15.	Child pouts or sulks	2.04	.37
8.	Child refuses to share	2.09	.52
20.*	Child talks out of turn	2.13	.46
28.	Child refuses to play in games with other children	2.13	.56
1.	Child whines	2.18	.39
46.*	Child does not share toys and equipment in a play situation	2.18	.50
50.	Child's remarks or questions are irrelevant to classroom discussions	2.18	.39
23.*	Child asks irrelevant questions, e.g., questions serve no functional purpose and are not task related	2.22	.42

*An asterisk marks the items regular and special educators disagree on.

behaviors relating to discipline. However, peer social behavior, to a significant degree, is a determinant of social competence, as measured by sociometric instruments. Low sociometric status, as noted in the review of the literature, predicts such pathological outcomes as (a) lowered academic achievement, (b) school dropout, (c) low self-esteem, (d) the development of delinquency, and (e) appearance on community psychiatric registers in adulthood.

The highest rated items by regular teachers in Section II (maladaptive behaviors) are interesting in that they deal exclusively with child behaviors that are (a) of high magnitude or intensity and (b) occur at an extremely low frequency in most classrooms. A child exhibiting one of these behaviors, even once, probably would be labeled inappropriate or deviant by a majority of both regular and special education teachers. One reason these behaviors may be rated so highly is that teachers feel incompetent to deal with them when they occur.

The lowest rated items in Section II (i.e., the most acceptable of children's maladaptive behaviors) have a heavy peer-to-peer social behavior content, thereby replicating the content of the least important items in Section I. This finding suggests that for both regular and special teachers, deviant or deficient peer relations are comparatively of less concern and importance than are high-magnitude, low-frequency behaviors that conflict with teacher standards of normalcy and appropriateness.

It is apparent from an analysis of individual teachers' responses on the SBS instruments that teachers differ dramatically in their tolerance levels and standards-expectations vis-a-vis child behavior in the classroom. Table 3 presents a profile of regular teachers from the initial validation sample who scored differently from each other on the SBS Inventory and Checklist. The scores are for 9 of the 50 regular teachers who participated in the study. Section I of the inventory contains 56 items that must be rated "Critical," "Desirable," or "Unimportant." Similarly, the 51 items in Section II must be rated "Unacceptable," "Tolerated," or "Acceptable." The distribution of frequences in Table 3 reflects a tremendous degree of variation among the teachers in this sample.

Table 3

Profiles of Teachers' Scores
on the
SBS Inventory and Checklist

SBS Inventory

Section I	Critical	Desirable	Unimportant
Teacher 1	0	36	20
Teacher 2	47	9	0
Teacher 3	15	40	1

Section II	Unacceptable	Tolerated	Acceptable
Teacher 1	51	0	0
Teacher 2	8	42	1
Teacher 3	28	22	1

SBS Checklist

	Number of Items Checked (√)	Number of Items Circled (0)
Teacher 1	18	0
Teacher 2	20	18
Teacher 3	0	0

A similar effect was noted on teacher responses to the 24-item SBS Correlates Checklist. A checked item means a teacher would resist placement of a child manifesting that condition or characteristic. If the item is then circled, it means appropriate technical assistance would ameliorate the indicated placement resistance. Teachers showed the same extreme forms of variation on the checklist as the inventory.

Similar patterns of extreme variation have been found in all subsequent samples of teachers who have responded to the instruments to date (about 10 in number). The sensitivity of the instruments to such extreme differences among teachers on these variables could be of significant value in the placement-integration process.

A relation appears to exist between teachers' scores on the SBS Inventory and the manner in which they teach and manage children in their classrooms. For example, high- and low-scoring teachers on the inventory tend to differ on the following categories of teaching and management behaviors which were determined by observational data recorded in the classrooms of 43 of the 50 regular teachers in the validation sample.

High-scoring teachers on the SBS Inventory have a higher rate than low-scoring teachers on (a) providing affirmative feedback to students' academic performance; (b) gaining attention before dispensing instruction; (c) using initiating commands, for example, to engage students in the learning process; (d) dispensing positive verbal responses; (e) asking product questions; and (f) dispensing instructional responses in the teaching process. They have a lower rate than low-scoring teachers on (a) asking neutral questions and (b) providing minimal responses to students' requests for assistance. We are not able to say, at this point, that children in the classrooms of high-scoring teachers are better taught, learn more, are better behaved, and the like. However, these results indicate that scores on the SBS Inventory seem to allow one to say something about how teachers instruct and manage children. These results have important implications for the placement of handicapped children.

The responses on the instruments of student interns, student teachers, and practicum students look very similar to those of experienced regular and special education teachers. This result suggests that the standards and expectations in this area may be well formed and quite stable *before* students begin their formal preparation as teachers.

Data on 196 teachers and teachers in training were factor analyzed to identify a factor structure for Sections I and II of the inventory. Three-factor and two-factor solutions were conducted for inventory Sections I and II, respectively. In Section I, items that load on Factors 1, 2, and 3 appear to describe respectively (a) a pupil with excellent work habits who is organized and efficient (Factor 1); (b) a pupil who exhibits self-control, is responsive to the teacher, and serves as a behavioral model for others (Factor 2); and (c) a pupil who is socially skilled and positive with peers (Factor 3). In Section II, items loading strongly on Factor 1 are those that describe children's maladaptive behaviors which are specific to the children and which do not challenge the teacher's authority (e.g., child is easily distracted from the task at hand) *or* that describe maladaptive social interactions with peers (e.g., child is unable to initiate conversation(s) with peers). In contrast, items loading on Factor 2 deal almost exclusively with children's behavior that disrupts the classroom atmosphere or instructional process and challenges the teacher's control and authority.

The factor solutions for Sections I and II account for 45 percent and 30 percent of the variance, respectively. Coefficient alpha for Section I items is .96, and for Section II items, .94. If this structure is found on additional teacher samples, it may be possible to develop teachers' profiles using factor scores that will provide information on teachers' management styles and how they respond to children's behavior in general. If it is reliable and sufficiently predictive, this information can be extremely useful in the mainstreaming process.

A great deal of additional work remains to be completed on these instruments before they can be used effectively in the placement-integration process. Federal funding is currently being sought to extend this assessment work to a large sample of regular teachers ($n = 150$) in order to examine possible empirical relations among (a) teachers' social behavior standards and expectations, (b) teachers' instructional and management behavior, and (c) children's outcomes in the areas of classroom behavior and achievement. We hypothesize that teachers' standards and expectations may act as a powerful mediator of teachers' behavior and, subsequently, may affect the outcomes for children. These relations and behavioral effects will be investigated at both a classroom level and an individual teacher-student interactive level.

Our research will have implications for the general educational process in the following areas: (a) It will develop knowledge and information that could contribute to a greater understanding of teachers' behaviors and their subsequent effects on children's outcomes. It will relate teachers' expectations to teaching style, general classroom ecology, and specific children's outcomes. Various programmatic implications for classroom practice will emerge from the discovery of strong relations among these variables. (b) The data will have important implications for the design of teacher inservice programs. (c) The research will relate various teacher demographic variables to social behavior standards and expectations and identify important relations in this area. (d) The methodology provides the capability to evaluate demand levels and behavioral requirements in specific educational settings for use in placement decisions. (e) The methodology could have powerful implications for teacher selection, the teacher-training process, and the evaluation of teacher-training programs.

The implications of this research for teaching effectiveness, on the basis of our findings to date, are as follows:

1. We may be able to separate out the classrooms of unacceptable from acceptable receiving teachers as placement settings for handicapped children.
2. For acceptable teachers, we will know which adaptive skills must be taught to children before and after integration into regular

classrooms and which unacceptable maladaptive behaviors must be remediated.

3. We know that teachers are not sufficiently concerned with peer-to-peer skills and will need additional training in this area.
4. The methodology tells us specific areas in which teachers need inservice training in the area of classroom management.
5. Results suggest that teachers in preparation may need to be more actively engaged in clarifying their own social behavior standards/expectations.
6. The methodology has great implications for the selection of teachers given that teachers' expectations appear to be well formed prior to the student-teaching experience.
7. We have no idea what it takes to produce changes in these teachers' standards and whether such changes can be maintained over time. But, the measures are potentially valuable as program-evaluation criteria vis-a-vis training in mainstreaming.

The assessment methodology described here can provide a structure for the placement-integration of handicapped children which does not appear to exist currently. It also can facilitate the integration of technical assistance for children's behavior problems with the other types of needed services that Stedman advocates.

Currently, we are developing and testing a social-skills curriculum that special education teachers can use to prepare handicapped children to enter least restrictive settings and to meet minimal behavioral requirements. This curriculum, along with accompanying contingency management procedures, will be used (a) to teach *critical* skills and competencies which the receiving teacher indicates must be taught prior to integration, (b) to reduce or eliminate unacceptable social behaviors which the receiving teacher says must be remediated prior to integration, and (c) to build in behavioral mastery of peer-to-peer social skills that contribute to the development of social and interactive competence.

Each child to be mainstreamed would be taught a standard set of peer-to-peer social skills which are designed to improve social competence and, we hope, acceptance by peers (see Table 4). Three of these skills (i.e., knowledge of how to make friends, distributing and receiving positive social behavior from others, and referential communication) have been empirically related to social competence in measurements by sociometric instruments (Gottman, Gonso, & Rasmussen, 1975). In addition, each child will be instructed in and brought to a mastery criterion on each of five adaptive skills and competencies appropriate to academic settings. These five targets (see Table 4) were rated highest by our sample of 50 regular teachers on Section I of the SBS Inventory.

Table 4

Peer-to-Peer Social Skills and
Critical Classroom Behaviors

I. Nonspecific Affective Skills
  (1) Voice loudness and tone
  (2) Eye contact
  (3) Smiling
  (4) Social conventions
  (5) Showing enthusiasm
  (6) Touching
  (7) Grooming

II. Interactive Skills
  (1) Starting
  (2) Answering
  (3) Continuing

III. Approaching Others
  (1) When to approach others
  (2) How to join others
  (3) Coping with rejection

IV. Conversation Skills
  (1) Listen
  (2) Ask questions
  (3) Take turns talking
  (4) Making sense

V. Cooperation
  (1) Talk nicely to others
  (2) Share (include others)
  (3) Follow rules of game
  (4) Be helpful to others

VI. Coping Skills
  (1) Expressing anger
  (2) Dealing with aggression
  (3) Responding to teasing, name-calling or criticism
  (4) Refusing requests politely

VII. Making Friends
  (1) Extend invitations (shared activities, play)
  (2) Compliment others
  (3) Friendship making sequence

VIII. Critical Classroom Behaviors
  (1) Doing work of acceptable quality
  (2) Following classroom rules
  (3) Compliance
  (4) Making assistance needs known
  (5) Listening to instruction and directions

The assessment process also makes it possible to individualize instructional procedures for specific teachers and settings. For example, all critically rated items in Section I of the SBS Inventory for a given teacher could be targeted for instruction. Similarly, all unacceptable items in Section II could be targeted for elimination or reduction in frequency to within the normal range. We hope that this integrated assessment and instructional package will improve the mainstreaming process and provide for a more equitable sharing of the burdens of serving handicapped children between regular and special education.

As it is presently constructed, the curriculum can be taught in one-to-one, small-group, or large-group instructional formats. Direct instructional procedures are used to teach each social skill and critical classroom behavior. A nine-step instructional procedure is used for this purpose (see Table 5); it incorporates video-taped instances and non-instances of skills to be taught. Direct intervention procedures are used to reduce or eliminate unacceptable social behaviors in both classroom and playground settings.

The initial tryout of the curriculum was conducted in the spring of 1981. Thirty handicapped children with various handicapping conditions and severity levels in the elementary school age range were randomly assigned to one of three groups: (a) control (Group 1), (b) social-skills training only (Group 2), and (c) social-skills training plus contingency management procedures (e.g., prompting, coaching, feedback, praise, and

Table 5

Social Skills Instructional Procedure

Step 1.	Set up and define subskill to be taught (see scripts).
Step 2.	Show positive instance.
Step 3.	Show negative instance. Debrief carefully and then ask for suggestions as to how situation could have been handled differently. Prompt, cue and reinforce responses as appropriate.
Step 4.	Show second positive instance. Use to reinforce and confirm subject responses in Step 3 above.
Step 5.	Present role plays (see scripts). Critique, provide feedback and praise as appropriate.
Step 6.	Show three positive examples and briefly discuss each one's illustration of the skill being taught.
Step 7.	Present criterion role play. Review and/or recycle as needed (see scripts).
Step 8.	Discuss ways and situations in which skill could be used on the playground and in other social situations. Get target child to offer suggestions. Prompt, cue and reinforce as needed.
Step 9.	Review previous day's use of skill problems encountered, positive outcomes, etc.

praise, and activity rewards) applied within classroom and playground settings (Group 3). A behavioral role-play test, teacher ratings, and behavioral observation data were used to assess the effects of the curriculum package.

Results indicate that both Groups 2 and 3 produced a significantly higher number of the skills that were taught on the criterion role-play test than did the control group. Teachers' ratings of social skills and critical classroom behaviors showed clear differences favoring Group 3 over Groups 1 and 2. Finally, observational data, recorded on social interactions in free play settings and in a classroom academic period, showed that Group 3 subjects engaged in significantly less inappropriate social behavior on the playground than did Groups 1 and 2, and also engaged in more on-task behavior in the classroom.

The curriculum currently is being rewritten and packaged for formal field testing during the 1981-82 school year. Teaching and contingency management procedures also are being revised to make the overall package more effective. A number of additional studies are planned on the total SBS assessment-curriculum package to determine its feasibility and effectiveness when it is used in the placement-integration process.

The overall purpose of this procedure is to foster the entry of handicapped children into least restrictive settings under conditions that maximize their social survival and adjustment to the behavioral demands in the settings. If teachers' standards/expectations are systematically taken into account in this process and honest efforts are made to prepare children to meet them, then the mainstreaming process, at least in a social-behavioral sense, may become a more positive experience for both teachers and handicapped children.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The title of this paper reflects our view that expectations for mainstreaming and its outcomes have been lofty but, perhaps, somewhat naive. Wingspread Conference was an attempt to redefine those great expectations closer to reality. Public Law 94-142 was based, in some respects, on an idealized view of the school system and what it could and would accommodate in relation to the needs of handicapped children. A number of assumptions were made about schools, teachers, and children by the framers and advocates of this law. Some of the more pivotal of these assumptions are the following:

1. Inasmuch as research evidence suggests that for handicapped children there is no difference in effectiveness between placements in regular versus special education settings, handicapped children should be exposed to the normalizing influences and benefits of least restrictive settings. In particular, gains were expected for mainstreamed handicapped children in the areas of social development and interactive competence as a result of placement in least restrictive settings.

2. Regular classroom teachers were expected to be able to accommodate handicapped children effectively with the support of appropriate pre-service and inservice training, combined with direct technical assistance from special educators.
3. Handicapped children would acquire more adequate social behavior repertoires through exposure to an interaction with nonhandicapped normal children in least restrictive settings.
4. No incentive system, such as reduced class size, would be required to motivate receiving teachers and to compensate them for the added burdens and special skills associated with the accommodation of handicapped children.
5. The logistical and financial burdens of Public Law 94-142 would not prove overwhelming to an already highly stressed school system.

Like the authors of the preceding papers in this report, we conclude that these assumptions have been far more sanguine than functional. One could make a persuasive case that each assumption has proven wrong, although hindsight provides a relatively easy but costly access to wisdom. However, there appear to be at least two possible paths that we can pursue during the 1980s and beyond to deal with the problems posed by Public Law 94-142 and their implications for the schooling of handicapped children.

Path One

The approach assumes that what we have is basically good and that we need more of the same while we strive to make the same better. This is a conservative, conventional approach by which we continue to operate on the preceding assumptions as if they were true and assume that our major problem is a failure of existing technology, not a fundamental one.

Policies implied at this level would require (a) an enhanced program of pre-service education, as advocated by Howsam; (b) a more efficacious and intensive program of inservice training to include, for example, a major focus on teacher expectations and children's social behavior, as described in this paper; and (c) greatly improved parents' advocacy and training efforts. Nothing is basically wrong with this approach; it is probably a necessary but in no way sufficient condition to realize effective mainstream education for the range of handicapped children. We suggest, however, that fundamental issues, problems, and questions must be addressed to achieve this goal.

Path Two

The second approach points directly to the fundamental and structural dimensions of schooling. We suggest that mainstreaming for handicapped children cannot be significantly more successful until schooling is made effective for *all* children.

The reviews of literature by Glass, Howsam, and us point to an urgent need to question the conditions under which we expect teachers and students to be successful. This is not to suggest that we mean to "de-school" society but, rather, to urge that we attend to the structural characteristics of schooling which, according to the literature of the last 10 years, determine classroom effectiveness. Some of these school-wide characteristics are (a) high teacher expectations; (b) high sense of efficacy; (c) clearly communicated rules for social behavior, that is, discipline and order; (d) strong administrative leadership; (e) parent support; and (f) an instructional technology that maximizes student work.

We do not suggest that these approaches are mutually exclusive or that we should pursue one in preference to the other. Both should be pursued simultaneously with the recognition that Path Two involves political and economic as much as educational issues. In this context, the audiences to which we should, perhaps, be addressing ourselves are school boards, teacher associations, administrators, and parents' groups who have the power to mandate changes in long-established school practices.

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RESTRUCTURING "SPECIAL" SCHOOL PROGRAMS: A POSITION PAPER

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Educators and child advocates can and should combine forces to help shape and direct future educational policies and programs to ensure their revitalizing rather than destructive effects. The prospect of widespread change can be viewed as an opportunity to solve many of the schools' longstanding problems. The threefold purpose of this paper, therefore, is (a) to discuss the context for change in the schools; (b) to describe the programmatic and policy requirements for restructuring current and special compensatory education programs; and (c) to present an alternative comprehensive program that can provide improved school-learning environments for all children.

CURRENT CONTEXT FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Over the past 30 years in the United States, social policies have emerged that support the right of all children and youth to equal, high-quality educational opportunities. These policies have been fortified by and, in some cases, are the products of judicial rulings, legislative mandates (e.g., Public Laws 93-380 and 94-142), and rising public sentiment (Safer, Burnette, & Hobbs, 1979). As a result, schools have been required to provide a greater array of educational experiences and special programs to an increasingly diverse student population. In the process, however, a number of related problems have arisen. The accomplishments of the 1970s in special and compensatory education programs and policies, the various problems faced by the schools in carrying out these programs, and some alternative strategies for arriving at solutions to the problems are examined in this section.

Accomplishments During the 1970s

It was well established, during the 1970s, that every child, including even the most severely handicapped, has a right to equal educational opportunities and that public schools have the obligation to deliver an *appropriate* education to each child. These principles are undergirded by various court decisions (e.g., PARC, 1971) and laws (most notably, Public Law 94-142). The idea that the school program offered to each child must meet his or her developmental status is truly notable. It is no longer enough simply to "allow" every handicapped student to enroll in an age-graded school program; it is now required that the program be adapted to the characteristics and needs of each such student. To ensure that the program offered is appropriate, school officials must prepare an explicit, public individualized educational plan (IEP) for each. The planning must be carried out by teams of specialists with the participation of parents. About 4 million IEPs currently are prepared annually in the U.S. The idea of the IEP represents enormous progress in the efforts of educators and parents to protect the rights of handicapped children and to deliver educational services to meet their learning needs.

The 1970s saw the achievement of additional gains. Notable among them is the principle of the "least restrictive environment." The principle is, perhaps, one of the most controversial concepts contained in Public Law 94-142. It must be interpreted on an individual basis; that is, according to the specific determination of what placement is best for a particular child. In general, however, the concept obligates schools to deliver educational services to children and youth in a natural environment (e.g., regular classroom, regular school, home); any displacement from this environment must be on prescription of the individualized educational plan and for a limited period of time only. Adherence to the least restrictive environment principle has meant the reversal of the "negative cascade" by which handicapped children, previously, were shunted off to isolated centers, special classes and schools, and institutions.

The relations between "special" and "regular" educators have been renegotiated so that most handicapped children now remain in regular classrooms and schools and receive special instruction alongside their nonhandicapped peers. The rights of children are supported by the rights extended to parents: to participate in all phases of schools' evaluations of and planning for their children under conditions assuring adherence to due process. They also have the right to appeal decisions which they believe are not in the best interests of their children.

Although these changes and developments in educational opportunities for handicapped children have not all been carefully evaluated, it is clear that the policies and many programs, particularly those for severely and profoundly handicapped children, are successful; they have alleviated much of the neglect, denial, and frustration that were meted out to handicapped children in the past.

Problems Facing the Schools

Despite the great strides made by the schools in the development and delivery of special and compensatory educational programs for "unique" groups of students (e.g., handicapped and economically disadvantaged), certain problems have been encountered which present major stumbling blocks to the effectuation of such well-intentioned programs. The sources of these problems range from the change in national educational priorities to the increased focus on procedural, rather than programmatic, issues. There follow discussions of specific problems which must be addressed if positive change is to occur in the nation's schools.

"Downshift" in Priorities for Education. It is ironic that the greatest advances in educational opportunities for handicapped and disadvantaged persons should have been mandated during the decade that witnessed a marked decline in the priority assigned to public education by local school districts and the federal government. Increasingly, at the national level, resources have been diverted from the public sphere to private purposes, military expansion, and energy costs. It should be noted, however, that the situation in this country is not unique. Throughout the Western world the demands upon education are growing whereas the funds for education are declining, and educators are faced with the problem of how to do

more with less. Husen (Note 1), in tracing the relation of funding for education and gross national product (GNP), observed that during the 1960s, when GNP was rising in healthy fashion in most parts of the world, resources were allocated to education at about twice the rate of growth in GNP. Recently, however, increases in allocations to education have tended to drop below the GNP growth rate.

Disjointed Incrementalism. The rapid expansion in the development and support of special education programs during the 1960s and 1970s was mainly in the form of narrow categorical programs that address the needs of students classified by handicaps or as migrant, economically disadvantaged, bilingual, or Indian. Each program has its own bureaucracy, time line, and evaluation-monitoring system. In addition, each program depends on annual appropriations, resulting in "soft money programmatic bubbles" in schools and colleges. The assumption appears to be that no program impacts on others, but the facts are contradictory. For example, in 1969, the President's Committee on Mental Retardation estimated that students from poor or minority families are 15 times more likely to be classified as retarded than are children from other sectors of society. Similarly, in New Jersey, a recent study of schools showed that the rate of classification as mentally retarded is four times greater for black than white children (Manni, Whinikur, & Keller, 1980).

In virtually all categorical programs there has been a turn to classroom teachers and the mainstream (i.e., regular as opposed to special education) for help. The result is programs in which students spend some time with regular teachers in regular classrooms and some with specialists. For some students these so-called "pull-out" programs are very helpful but for others, the following negative results have been found:

1. Many discontinuities or interruptions are present across school programs; they affect almost all teachers and students. These discontinuities occur when students have to travel from their regular classrooms to Title I classrooms, speech therapy lessons, learning disability resource rooms, and so on, in odd patterns throughout the school day.
2. Special and compensatory education programs have caused a narrowing of leadership and the loss of control by local school personnel (e.g., the school principal) as growing numbers of the programs have come under the "ownership" of Title I supervisors, members of bilingual communities, special education directors, and other specialists.
3. Regular school staff members increasingly are called upon to make eligibility or entitlement decisions. For example, many school psychologists have been withdrawn from practicing the broader aspects of their profession and are required to concentrate on simple psychometric gate-keeping, that is, decisions on which children are eligible for the various categorical programs; the result is a severe loss of morale and program-development potential among the psychologists.

4. Categorical political constituencies have tended to protect their narrow but hard-won territories (e.g., "learning disabilities") and to oppose broader, systemic approaches to school improvement.

Demise of Extended Categories as Useful Instructional Classifications. The main growth in special education programs in recent years has not been in the traditional categories (i.e., blind, deaf, orthopedically handicapped, severely retarded, and multiple handicapped) but in what can be termed the "extended" categories, that is, "learning disabled (LD)," "educable mentally retarded (EMR)," and "emotionally disturbed (ED)." These categories now make up 80-90 percent of the special education enrollment (Glass, this volume). They (e.g., LD and EMR) are not treatment categories in the sense that they indicate distinct and separate forms of therapy. Each category has been criticized by scholars, competing advocacy groups, and the courts. The differences among the categories are sufficiently blurred so that a downturn in the classification rate in one category often results in a corresponding upturn in another.

One can make a strong case that the rise of these extended categories resulted from the state and federal practices of funding special education programs by category of handicap. School personnel were aware of the proportion of the pupil population that did not progress well academically in the norm-oriented regular classroom. Because these children did not fall into any funded handicap classification they could not be supplied with special education or remedial services. The solution was to find new labels to attach to these children and thus, new parents' organizations to help lobby for funds that would permit the children to be given special education services outside the regular classrooms.

The usefulness of the extended categories for instruction-oriented classifications has been the subject of a number of studies. Researchers at the Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities, for example, have shown the difficulty of distinguishing learning disabled (LD) students from low achievers in general (Ysseldyke, Algozzine, Shinn, & McGue, Note 2). In this study, one of the few distinctions found between children classified as LD and those identified as low achieving was more signs of emotional problems in the first group. In another study, Tucker (1980) found that classification rates tended to shift from EMR to LD when tensions occurred over the EMR classification. In many school districts, the distinction between EMR and LD depends upon a statement about a child's educability, which is based on such factors as IQ test scores. Indeed, most extended categorical classification decisions have come to rest upon presumed differences in predispositional states (e.g., educability, underlying psychological processes, and emotional disturbances) rather than direct curriculum-based criteria.

Certainly the children classified according to the current extended categories have major problems in the classroom. The challenge is to find an acceptable approach to their genuine needs without resorting to arbitrary labeling and placement practices. Instead of simply excluding them from the present special education programs, which would lower the 12 percent estimate of exceptional students to about 3 percent, we must develop new methods of addressing their educational problems. The renegotiation of relations between special and regular educators must be continued in order to create the programs that will serve these many children effectively.

More Process Than is Due. One general effect of the federal role in special and compensatory education programs has been a great increase in the procedural requirements placed upon teachers and school administrators. These requirements include the preparation of IEPs, the application of Title I student-appraisal systems, and the issuance of formal notices to, as well as the scheduling of individual meetings with, parents. When such procedures differ for each categorical program and consume too much time, attention and resources are distracted from the education of children. In addition, a kind of litigious atmosphere is created by the overemphasis on "procedure" which tends to heighten the distrust between teachers and parents.

In some districts, procedural rather than substantive norms have become the predominant tools of state and federal education authorities for monitoring increasingly disjointed school operations. Court-appointed "masters" are assigned to shore up some of the categorical boundaries and to hurry along the narrowly defined compliance efforts in many districts. The complex web of procedures designed to protect the rights of special education children also tends to deny teachers any participation in the "moral victory" represented by Public Law 94-142 (Lortie, 1978). Educational personnel, in general, appear to resent the assumptions that special moral insight is found only in Washington, D.C. and that the impact of federal legislation upon them is mainly procedural.

Reconstruction of the Mainstream. Application of the least restrictive environment principle of Public Law 94-142 is an important start at renegotiating relations between special and regular educators. A greater number of students has been placed in mainstream programs, at least for part of the school day. The results, however, often are less than optimal. Frequently, there is lack of program coordination between the special and regular education settings which may result in inconsistent curricular experiences (sometimes destructively so) for students. In addition, some special education programs for exceptional students have been subverted into support systems that ensure the students' "survival" in regular classroom curricula but do not adequately meet their special learning needs.

There appears to be no way in which the responsibility for any student's education can be shared successfully between a "pull-out" program and a regular education program unless the *total* learning environment is flexible enough to be adapted consistently to that student's particular needs. Awareness of this basic challenge causes many observers to feel that Public Law 94-142 may be the straw that is breaking the camel's back: either for "good," if it brings about a fundamental reconstruction of mainstreaming programs, or for "ill," if educators settle for nonadaptive mainstream education and use "specialists" in all cases of extreme problems. Clearly, serious efforts to improve the education of exceptional students will require far-reaching transformations in regular classrooms as well as in special education.

Dysfunctional Funding Systems. The flow of dollars to schools under Public Law 94-142 is triggered by finding and classifying students as "handicapped" in any of a number of categories. However, the levels of the annual federal appropriations for special programs for these students have been disappointingly low. The consequences of low-funding include (a) a kind of bounty hunt mentality (i.e., "more labeled students bring more money"); (b) neglect of early education and preventive programs because young children are difficult to classify; (c) inadequate staffing of special programs because highly competent personnel seek jobs with tenure opportunities that are not afforded by programs which are subject to annual renewal; and (d) difficulties in providing programmatic accountability for special education dollars.

The children of large cities are especially victimized by inadequate and fluctuating funding for education. Much of this population comprises poor, migrant, bilingual, and culturally different children who have difficulty succeeding in programs designed for middle-class, English-speaking students. For the schools to provide special services to this troubled population requires the classification of disproportionate numbers as "retarded," "disturbed," "socially maladjusted," or "learning disabled." Many parents object to the application of such labels to their children because of the stigma the labels carry. However, they apparently do not object to the children's receiving special services providing they are made available in regular rather than special education classrooms.

Inadequate Personnel Preparation. The full application of the goals and principles expressed in Public Law 94-142 to "marginal" students depends in large part on competent performances by teachers, pupil personnel workers, and school administrators. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the new policies have been thrust upon largely unprepared educators. Although federal authorities have written some regulations to address this problem among personnel in place, they have neglected the development of coherent programs and resources. In connection with Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, for example, a staff of compliance officers was assembled to monitor colleges, schools, and other organizations, but these officers lacked the skills to engage the substance of the necessary programs. Thus, the monitoring of schools and colleges for Section 504 compliance became a largely procedural but substantively empty process.

In fairness, it should be noted that the Office of Special Education (OSE) of the U.S. Department of Education has used its discretionary training resources (approximately $50 million dollars in 1980, but declining in 1981 and 1982) very well. Funds, however, have been so limited that they are more of a symbol in relation to the total personnel problems. For example, it was estimated recently that OSE was spending $19 million annually—more than a third of its training money—to support the preparation of pre-service and inservice regular classroom teachers, a sum that represents only enough money to pay for one two-credit course for all the teachers in New York City!

Added to the personnel training problem is the likelihood that people will not be so attracted to teaching in the near future. Thus it will be virtually impossible to meet the complex demands being placed upon the schools if staff resources are permitted to decline steadily in number and quality.

CURRENT FRAMEWORK FOR DECISION MAKING

In recent years, great definitional power has come to rest in the U.S. Department of Education; that is, the "Feds" have impacted heavily on such areas as defining handicapping categories, establishing entitlement procedures for special and compensatory education programs, and setting program standards. The states have added a number of details and variations in these areas but, generally, they have shown a high degree of conformity with federal guidelines. This system is at a critical stage, currently. Because programs in the various categories are highly interactive, changes in one category or program may have broad effects in others. Thus major decisions clearly must be made about how schools should be organized in general to meet the challenge of human differences.

One danger in this situation is that federal authorities simply may shift their definitions of handicap categories to ease political pressures. For example, the definitions could be reduced to safe levels by including only the obvious and severe disabilities. This action would amount to the abandonment of mildly and moderately handicapped children, many of whom face severe problems, and a retreat from the present renegotiation of relations between regular and special education. The side effects of such a strategy also might entail a sharp reduction in services to minority group children inasmuch as they are classified, to a highly disproportional degree, in the mildly and moderately handicapped categories.

A second strategy might be for the "Feds" simply to wash their hands of all categorization issues and to dump them on the states and local school districts. For example, OSE might agree to accept handicapped child counts from the states for funding purposes on the basis of a review of state operating procedures and categories to assure general adherence to Congressional intent. Such a situation is likely to be preferred to a new set of arbitrary federal guidelines on categories. However, reliance on state procedures might encourage states to use any possible means to build their handicapped rosters up to the full 12 percent general ceiling, thereby creating many new boundary problems. An advantage of turning the problem over to the states, however, is the opportunity for innovation. States with highly creative procedures for serving the needs of special and compensatory education students would not be required to give up these procedures for national standards.

A third decision-making strategy might be for the federal government to provide leadership in the development of innovative answers to the critical problems facing schools. We prefer this option. Were the OSE to adopt this strategy it could provide opportunities for states and local school districts to develop new methods for addressing the problems of marginal students. The proposals would need to include indications of how students would be classified, how the outcomes of instruction would be evaluated, and how Congressional intent would be met. One anticipated result of this strategy would be the recognition that no one actually knows the answers to the difficult problems we face and that, although students' basic rights and current programs must be protected, new approaches are needed. Admittedly, there might be more than one answer.

The following vignette illustrates the preceding strategy. It is an imaginary confrontation between a worried, aggressive leader of one of the many "categorical" advocacy groups and a high-ranking official in the U.S. Department of Education.

> **(Mrs. Jones, President of the National Association for XYZ, and the Imaginary Secretary of Education)**
>
> **Mrs. Jones:**
> I've just noticed a statement by Professor M that schools in some areas are classifying six times as many children in category X as other school districts. That violates everything my organization stands for. Children who have X can be defined quite adequately, and we expect you to revise your definitions, change your regulations, and generally uphold stricter standards. I've already discussed this with Senator ABC, who has a strong interest in this field, as you know.
>
> **The Imaginary Secretary of Education:**
> Mrs. Jones, if we did what you proposed there would be blood on the streets in many places. Unhappily, it would result in the withdrawal of many pupils from the only programs which seem to show some promise of addressing their special needs. There is much less agreement about these matters than you propose and we would like. Let me make a proposal to you. If you can persuade the leaders from several school districts, or perhaps from one entire state, to design a plan for dealing with the issues which you've stated and submit that plan to us, including a carefully designed evaluation system, we will consider giving you opportunities to try it for a period of up to 5 years. If your plan is judged to have high merit, we will try to give you some help on the funding side. You understand we must require that any plan respect basic principles, such as 'right to education' and 'due process' guarantees for parents. At the same time, we would be quite open to new approaches on other matters, such as classification systems for students, the roles of specialists in relation to mainstreaming teachers, and the like.
>
> **Mrs. Jones:**
> Are you saying that you are unwilling to change your regulations to provide uniformity of procedures in all states, but

you're willing to support local and state innovations if they're carefully evaluated?

Mr. Secretary:
That's right.

Requirements for Restructuring

No certain solution to the preceding outlined problems is known although some essential requirements must be considered in any attempt to "restructure" the current special and compensatory education programs. A brief discussion of several requirements follows.

Instructional Effectiveness. The basic goal of any educational restructuring must be that every student be taught to learn efficiently and well, particularly in the basic skills subject areas. This imperative requires evidence of program effectiveness (validity) and continuing systems of monitoring and evaluation to show that the program is, indeed, conducted properly at all times. Parents and other interest groups have been misled by too many panaceas; now they want evidence that proposed programs will work. Consider the following condensation of a true incident:

Scene: A Meeting of the City Advisory Committee on Special Education Programs

An educator addresses the group:
Suppose we established in every school building a system whereby all *children* were observed very carefully. When a particular child was noted not to be responding and learning well, resources would be drawn upon to study that child very carefully and to arrange alternative, and possibly more intensive, forms of instruction, at least for a while. Parents would be kept informed and involved, to the full extent that they wanted to be involved. Notice that we would not be labeling an child, but careful note would be made of each child's progress, and additional help would be given where needed.

The educator then turns to Mrs. Anthony, an active leader in the local Association for Children with Learning Disabilities and the mother of a child classified as 'learning disabled':
Mrs. Anthony, please note that we wouldn't be classifying children as learning disabled anymore. Would that be acceptable? Remember that we would be working intensively with any child who fell behind.

Mrs. Anthony:
Yes, that's what we'd like best of all.

Educator addresses two minority women, Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Smith, members of the advisory committee and mothers of children in the local schools:

> It might be found in operating the new system that more minority children will show poor progress than other children. Thus, more minority children might be studied intensively and given extra help. Remember, we're not going to label the children as 'EMR' or 'LD' or any other way, but we're going to be very straightforward about their needs and arrangements for extra help. Does this approach speak to your concerns?
>
> **Mrs. Smith (after some delay and quiet discussion with Mrs. Jones):**
> Yes, but we would want a very strong evaluation of the program to be sure that it's really working.

Continued Guarantee of Basic Educational Rights for All Children. The hard-won victories of the 1970s should not be lost to handicapped children whether Public Law 94-142 survives or funds are "blocked." It seems likely that any proposal for major change will raise impossible political difficulties among advocacy groups and professionals unless, at a minimum, the proposal includes a full commitment to the following principles:

1. Every child, no matter how special his or her needs may be, should be provided a free public education.
2. The education provided to each child should be appropriate to his or her individual readiness and needs.
3. Teachers and other school professionals should cooperate fully with parents in planning educational programs (plans put into written form) for each child whose needs are unusual or whose school progress is of concern.
4. Parents (including surrogates when appropriate) and students themselves, as they mature, should be afforded *due process* in connection with all major educational plans, including the right to appeal any educational decision which is not in the best interest of the student.
5. School programs should be conducted in accordance with the principle of the least restrictive environment as it has been interpreted in recent years.

Provision of Adaptive Instruction for all Students. When the Congress mandated schools to write individualized educational plans for handicapped children the intent was to make sure that no individual needs were neglected; the written plan was the guarantee. However, the question immediately arose of why certain rights (i.e., IEPs; due process) should be restricted to handicapped children alone; certainly the principle of equal educational opportunities would dictate that the advantages provided for one segment of the population be applied to all. We have reached the point where it should be possible to make the necessary provisions. The system suggested here would be committed to individualizing instruction for *all* students. The curriculum would be differentiated to meet the individual needs of students in terms of specific learning objectives. In other words, each student's learning plan would be arranged according to his or her appropriate level of ability, taking into account both the scope and sequence of the curriculum and the individual student's current level of mastery. Special teachers and aides would provide assistance for all students who need it and, at the same time, concentrate on those few who would need special help to acquire skills. This assistance would be part of a totally adaptive system.

Provision of Technical and Management Assistance. The growing demand placed upon schools to provide educational experiences that are adapted to the needs of an increasingly diverse student population necessitates the collaboration of schools' instructional and administrative staff to make the most effective use of all available human resources (i.e., the staff's complementary talents and skills). Regular classroom teachers are challenged to become more resourceful in managing flexible and variable options for meeting the different learning needs in their classrooms. Thus, the effective implementation and management of restructured educational programs would require on-going assistance from other professional staff members (e.g., special education personnel and Title I ESEA teachers) in the form of administrative and instructional support, as well as the development of methods to manage each student's learning efficiently. Among the critical areas of development for the provision of such technical and management support are a systematic staff-development program that aims at enhancing teachers' management and organizational skills; a data-based system for more efficiently recording and providing student-learning information for use in instructional decision making; a training program designed to develop teachers' capabilities to help children acquire self-management skills (thereby allowing teachers to spend more time instructing than managing students); and systematic procedures for integrating special education services in regular classroom settings.

Provision of Support for Early Education and Preventive Instruction. According to the evidence, early schooling is advantageous for many children and their families, especially children who are disadvantaged by physical or intellectual handicaps or the lack of intellectual stimulation (Lazar, 1981). However, maximizing the effectiveness of early education programs would require changes in the current funding systems to reward the *outcomes* (e.g., fewer disabled learners) of programs rather than the enrollment of only the victims of school operations.

The prevalent practice in special education is to make special programs available to exceptional children after they have fallen so far behind that they are full-blown casualties. Under present funding policies, for example, money and programs are authorized only when children have become so educationally deviant that they can be classified in categories such as "seriously emotionally disturbed" and "learning disabled." Specialist who could help to identify and correct incipient problems during the early developmental stages are prevented from doing so by the lack of authorization and resources. Their services are withheld until problems are severe and children can be labeled. Such practices are inconceivably wasteful in terms of both financial and human resources.

Differentiated Functions and Staffing Patterns. One critical step in the reconstruction of current practices that are aimed at providing appropriate and effective educational services to all students, is the development of a differentiated school-based staffing pattern. Schools are often described as having a very flat organizational staff structure. The staff includes a large number of teachers all at the same level of responsibility. On the other hand, a differentiated staffing pattern would consider the variety of staff functions and the economy of redefining roles for the redeployment of staff to perform the various functions required by the restructured practices.

Staffing decisions should be made on the basis of the specific functions needed in particular schools to serve the needs of students, staff members, and schools rather than that of one or only a few job categories. It is important to note that differentiated staffing patterns require a systems approach to the functional linkages among classroom instructors, school-based support staff, and district staff who are responsible for providing overall support for program operation. A major challenge, in the face of current and continuing fiscal constraints, is the creative development of forms to provide more services (in terms of both quality and quantity) to students despite fewer staffing resources. To meet this challenge, emphasis must be placed on the systematic analyses of schools' needs and the identification of methods to select and deploy staff members to meet those needs. This is seen as an important step toward the type of restructuring advocated in this paper.

Cost Savings. Widespread adoption of the kind of educational restructuring proposed here cannot occur unless it can be shown to be cost effective; that is, that greater cost savings and educational effectiveness over present programs are possible.

Table 1 presents a cost analysis for a district participating in the pilot demonstration of a mainstreaming program for exceptional children; included in the costs is the fulfillment of IEPs for *all* students in a regular classroom setting. The projected costs cover carrying out the mainstreaming program in all the kindergarten through second-grade classes in Schools 1 and 2 (School District A) over a six-year period. Also shown in the table are the costs of maintaining the school district's traditional regular education curricula and the combined cost (excluding salaries of regular education teaching staff) of serving all students in Schools 1 and 2 in the mainstreaming and traditional special education programs. (It should be noted that the projected costs in the table are not adjusted for inflation.) As shown in Table 1, the cost to the school district of operating the mainstreaming program and the regular and special education programs for students in grades K-2 decreases significantly in comparison with the cost in 1979-80 (before the mainstreaming program was installed in the schools). In fact, the cost begins to decrease during the first year of the mainstreaming program in Schools 1 and 2. By the sixth year (1985-86), when the K-2

Table 1

Comparisons of the Projected Costs of Implementing a Mainstreaming Program and Implementing the District's Traditional Regular and Special Education Programs[1]

District A

	School 1					School 2						
	Mainstreaming Program			Traditional Program		Mainstreaming Program			Traditional Program			
School Year	Number of Classes	New Implementation Cost	Maintenance Cost	Number of Classes	Maintenance Cost[2]	Number of Classes	New Implementation Cost	Maintenance Cost	Number of Classes	Maintenance Cost[2]	Special Education Cost[2]	Total Cost to School District[2]
1979-80	0	0	0	14	$14,672	0	0	0	7	$7,336	$90,000	$112,000[3]
1980-81	4	$10,700[4]	0	10	10,480	0	0	0	7	7,336	60,000	88,516
1981-82	9	13,254	8,366	5	5,240	2	5,280	0	5	5,240	30,000	67,380
1982-83	13	3,700	17,532	1	1,048	4	6,192	3,317	3	3,144	15,500	50,433
1983-84	14	700	21,232	0	0	5	2,200	7,666	2	1,096	15,500	48,394
1984-85	14	0	21,932	0	0	6	700	9,866	1	1,048	15,500	49,046
1985-86	14	0	21,932	0	0	7	2,200	10,566	0	0	15,500	50,198

NOTE:
1. The projected costs presented here are based on current costs and do not provide for inflation.
2. Costs in these categories do not include salaries of regular teachers and special education personnel.
3. Includes all costs associated with the traditional resource room program. In 1979-80, there were two LD and one SED resource classrooms in operation in addition to the regular education program.
4. Includes costs of curricula and instructional aides.

classes in all the schools would be participating in the mainstreaming program, School District A's education costs, excluding salaries for regular education teachers, would be reduced from the 1979-80 total by more than 50 percent. It is important to point out that the cost figures for the mainstreaming program reflect the costs of the program for *both* exceptional and nonexceptional students in the same full-time mainstreaming classrooms, thereby reducing the school district's costs for special education placements (e.g., resource rooms).

Effective and Efficient Procedures for the Disbursement of Funds and Fiscal Accountability. Currently, the amount of most state and federal funds for special education programs increases with the number of handicapped children that are identified and labeled. We should shift the emphasis from "input" to "outcome," however; that is, we should justify funding by demonstrating program effectiveness, including decreases in the numbers of children with learning handicapping conditions.

A number of pilot demonstrations of the "outcome" approach are in operation, for example, in the public schools of Bloomington, Minnesota; and Riverview, Pennsylvania. (The latter program is described in the following section.)

In Bloomington, the learning disability (LD) teachers who, in the past, followed a clinical method of working with severely learning disabled children, now spend a significant part of their time in regular, primary classrooms. They join with classroom teachers in observing all students and developing alternative procedures for children who do not respond well to the customary instruction. Since the program was started there has been a sharp decline in the number of children in the system with severe learning problems. Furthermore, the LD teachers in Bloomington have reported that they are able to keep up with their clinical case loads for the first time. Regular teachers and principals support the program and the Minnesota State Department of Education provides categorical funding, not on the basis of numbers of children with problems but on the program's demonstrated effectiveness in preventing and solving problems. Nevertheless, it is quite simple for the schools to show exactly how the special funds are used, demonstrating the kind of programmatic trace for the categorical funds that usually is impossible when funds are allotted according to number of children enrolled in a program.

The Bloomington experience illustrates how alternative funding and accountability systems can be successfully incorporated in the restructuring of programs while effective educational services are insured for all students. The essential features of such alternative systems include shifting the basis for funding specific local efforts from "inputs" to "outputs" (outcomes), establishing traces for all funds allotted to specific programs, doing away with labels for students as a condition of funding, and emphasizing achievement gains as the major justification for expenditures.

AN ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE

In the context of the current need for educational changes in the schools and the requirements for restructuring special and compensatory education programs, an alternative approach is suggested here. It consists of four major features: (a) a unified funding and accountability system; (b) redefined roles for the personnel who develop, administer, and conduct special and compensatory education programs; (c) a comprehensive individualized instructional program; and (d) an effective system that demonstrates innovative educational practices.

A Unified Funding and Accountability System

The first step in putting the alternative restructuring approach into practice is to establish a set of experimental districts in which the regulations and rules (both federal and state) for all programs with special entitlements (e.g., programs for handicapped, disadvantaged, migrant, Indian, or bilingual students) would be waived for a period of 3 to 5 years. The waivers are necessary to facilitate the employment of personnel across categories. Furthermore, state and federal authorities would have to "block" the funds for all existing special and compensatory education programs and permit them to be used as needed during the experimental period. Changes in reporting and accountability procedures would be negotiated at the start. The funding and accountability systems, which should be based on data from the experimental sites and on the best available information on alternative models, certainly would be cross-categorical in nature. In the resulting funding systems, the dollar flow would be triggered by stable programmatic or personnel elements of cost and accountability which, in turn, could be justified by data on the outcomes of instruction. Although the exact procedures for providing fiscal and educational accountability necessarily would vary according to the different needs and constraints of particular schools/districts/states, and careful field testing of the various procedures would necessarily be conducted before specific recommendations could be made, the unit for "triggering" the dollar flow clearly would be shifted from the individual "child-in-category" unit to "personnel" or "programmatic" units. An example of an alternative funding procedure is the use of special categorical funds to pay a specified percentage of the cost of salaries for personnel who conduct special programs of individualization and support for regular teachers; or funds can be allocated in a flat amount to maintain a "systems and support" unit in a school. In each case, accountability is based on data showing programmatic effectiveness.

An Adaptive, Comprehensive Educational Program

The goal of the alternative program described here is to provide effective educational services for all (or nearly all) students in a common school setting. Among its features are elements that are integral to alternative programs. They are (a) the assignment to classroom teachers of the primary responsibility for adapting learning environments to the individual needs of all students; (b) the incorporation of provisions for technical support by special and compensatory education personnel; and (c) the description of students' individual differences in terms that are directly relevant to instruction, thereby eliminating the need for categorical labeling systems as the basis for special intervention programs. This program, the Adaptive Learning Environments Model (ALEM), has been under development, including field testing, in several different school settings for some time. Currently, it is being conducted in a number of public schools to demonstrate how exceptional students can be served in mainstream classrooms. These demonstrations illustrate the feasibility of including such a program in the restructuring of education proposed in this paper.

ALEM was developed and field-tested by the Learning Research and Development Center of the University of Pittsburgh. Its design features derive from both research and theory and thus are potentially capable of meeting the outlined alternative program requirements (Wang, 1980). Grounded essentially in a systems approach to program development, the ALEM design has a theoretical and research base. It is proving to be effective with exceptional and nonexceptional students in mainstream classrooms.

ALEM comprises five major program components: (a) a basic skills constituent that includes various highly structured and hierarchically organized prescriptive curricula, and a range of open-ended exploratory learning activities that increase the school's capability to adapt to any student's individual learning needs and interests; (b) an instructional-learning management system that is designed to maximize the use of available classroom and school resources (e.g., curricular supports and students' and teachers' time); (c) a family participation program that is aimed at optimizing student learning through increased communication between school and home and the integration of school and home learning experiences; (d) a multi-age grouping and instructional-teaming classroom organizational support system that is designed to increase the flexible use of teacher and student talents, time, and other school resources; and (e) a systematic approach to staff development that enhances the capability of staff members to carry out the program effectively in regular classroom settings. The basic principle in the development of ALEM is to increase the capability of school-building personnel to modify any handicapping condition in the learning environment that might hamper the staff's effectiveness in meeting the learning needs of individual students and, at the same time, to focus on the development of each student's capability to benefit from the learning environment.

When the preliminary data for one year of operations were analyzed, they showed that ALEM was effective as a full-time mainstreaming program; that is, important outcomes were found in terms of students' learning progress, classroom processes, students' attitudes, and cost (Wang, Note 3). In a study in which students were assigned at random to ALEM or non-ALEM mainstreaming classrooms, the students' achievement scores were compared. The overall achievement gains in basic skills subject areas (i.e., reading and math) for regular students in the ALEM classrooms were comparable to those of their peers in the non-ALEM classrooms. Slightly higher-than-average achievement gains were evidenced by the mildly handicapped students mainstreamed in the ALEM classrooms as compared to the gains for the mildly handicapped students who were enrolled in the school's standard resource room program (the differences were not statistically significant). Finally, gifted students in the ALEM classrooms showed significantly higher achievement gains than the gifted students in the non-ALEM classrooms.

Some interesting patterns in classroom processes under the ALEM situation were observed. For both mildly handicapped and regular students in mainstream classrooms, interaction with teachers tended to occur more often for instructional (95.2%) than management (4.8%) purposes. Students' interactions with their peers also were found to be primarily instructional in nature, and very few cases of disruptive behavior were noted. The ALEM students' observed on-task time was found to be considerably greater (90.1%) than the comparable percentages reported by other classroom studies (e.g., Berliner, Fisher, Filby, & Marliave, 1978), and was significantly greater than the on-task time of students in the non-ALEM classrooms (80%).

Analysis of the attitudinal data for mainstreamed mildly handicapped students in the ALEM classrooms showed three significant findings: (a) ALEM students, in general, tended to rate their cognitive competence and general self-esteem significantly higher than did non-ALEM students; (b) mainstreamed mildly handicapped students in the ALEM classrooms rated their cognitive competence and general self-esteem significantly higher than did mildly handicapped students in the non-ALEM classrooms; and (c) mildly handicapped students in the ALEM classrooms rated their social competence and general self-esteem significantly higher than did their nonhandicapped peers in the same classrooms. In addition, the data on the cost of conducting the ALEM program to mainstream exceptional students on a full-time basis suggest considerable long-term savings over the cost of providing a "pull-out" program that uses a part-time resource room model.

Redefinition of Roles

The development of alternative educational approaches and the restructuring of extant programs along the lines suggested in this paper require some fundamental changes in and redefinitions of the roles and functions of personnel assigned to special and compensatory education programs. Carrying out a program like ALEM, for example, necessitates the development of operational procedures that can accommodate the learning needs of all students in the same classroom. Thus, the roles of school personnel in the ALEM program cut across territories that traditionally have been "owned" by Title I teachers, learning disability teachers, EMR teachers, speech pathologists, or other specialists, thereby requiring structural changes in schools' present organizational patterns. It is anticipated that if the roles of instructional and administrative specialists (e.g., Title I teachers, speech pathologists, principals, curriculum supervisors, and school psychologists) are redefined in terms of their specific functions so they can support regular teachers' efforts to adapt school learning environments more effectively to fulfill the individual needs of all children, then these specialists will be able to provide critical technical and instructional assistance to classrooms where programs like ALEM are being conducted.

The redefinition of the roles of current specialists require the development of organizational patterns with a "generic" or noncategorical base at the school level. Figure 1 represents generally the directions the role revisions may need to take (Birch & Reynolds, in press). At the first-order (the "street") level are the regular instructional staff members who engage children and their parents directly in regular classrooms. At the second-order level are the special educators and paraprofessionals who work in the building and mostly in the regular classrooms (i.e., the school-based, instructional, and administrative support teams). Envisioned here is a totally coordinated system that encompasses all the special education conducted in a particular school building and any other compensatory services that are provided for disadvantaged, bilingual, migrant, low-English proficiency, or other children with special needs. The primary function of personnel at the second-order level would be to supply technical and administrative support to regular classroom teachers to help them to work with *all* exceptional students who reside in the school's attendance area. Thus a carefully developed and unified system for providing adaptive instruction to all students would operate throughout the school. Under this organization of special education services, a school with 25 to 30 regular classroom teachers would include a second-order staff of perhaps 3 to 5 special and compensatory education teachers plus several paraprofessionals (Thompson, Zajac, & Wang, Note 4). Such a system would permit intensive work with children who have special needs but without labeling the children according to traditional categories.

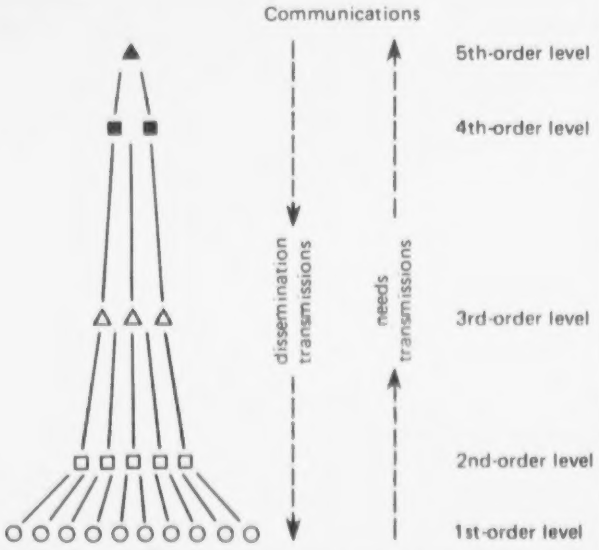
As more and more direct instruction of special and compensatory education students is managed and provided by regular classroom teachers (first-order level) with the support of generic (noncategorical or multicategorical) specialists (second-order level), the demand for help through consultation with and training by specialists can be expected to increase. This function is represented at the third-order level (Figure 1). A local school might be able to serve very well some children with complex needs by drawing on the resources of regular classroom teachers and special educators; nevertheless, these building personnel might need help with problems such as individualizing instruction, carrying out special assessments, selecting and supplying special materials, and consulting with parents; thus, a consultant from the school district's general offices would be asked for help. Consultation with computer experts, educational audiologists, behavior management specialists, experts on learning problems, parent educators, or specialists on other topics of concern can enlarge the capabilities of school-building personnel to meet the diverse needs of a range of children.

The fourth-order level (Figure 1) comprises college and university personnel who prepare practitioners for all levels. At the fifth level are the research and development (R & D) personnel who, often but not always, are employed at universities. They can be called upon for leadership in understanding and improving special and compensatory education practices through research and development procedures.

Figure 1

A Structure for the Redefinition of Roles to Support the Provision of "Special" Educational Services

5th-order level	Research and Development
4th-order level	College and university programs for the preparation of personnel at all levels.
3rd-order level	Specialized consultant training staff who serve in a total school district or region (psychologists, parent education consultants, behavior analysts, teachers of braille, consultants on learning problems, etc.). They "back up" 2nd-order building-based special education staff.
2nd-order level	Generic special educators and paraprofessionals who work full-time at building level in a unified, cross-categorical, multi-program structure operated in collaboration with regular teachers.
1st-order level	Regular teachers who are prepared for "mainstreaming."


Communications
dissemination transmissions
needs transmissions
5th-order level
4th-order level
3rd-order level
2nd-order level
1st-order level

SOURCE: Birch, J. & Reynolds, M. The proposed role of special educators. *Exceptional Children Quarterly*, 1982, 2(4).

On the right of Figure 1 are indicated the desirable linkages or communications among the several levels. A case is made for strong two-way communications: (a) from the first-order level, to keep everyone informed about the actualities of the teaching/learning situation: *the needs transmissions*; (b) from R & D personnel to other order levels, to keep everyone informed of important developments in the knowledge base that are relevant to instruction: *the dissemination transmissions.*

In a sense, the conceptualized redefinition of roles (Figure 1) turns the current structure of schools on its head. In the past, narrow categorical specialists were employed at the street level—in the local schools. Now, it seems appropriate to move toward placing regular classroom teachers and a group of generic "special educators," who have a broader preparation base, at the school-based level, and to give them back-up assistance by different specialists at the school district, university, and R & D levels. It has become unrealistic and defeating to imagine that highly specialized categorical personnel can be employed in each school building. Note that the specializations represented at the third- through fifth-order levels are not necessarily categorical in the traditional sense.

Clearly, the structure proposed in Figure 1 requires radical changes in the training, deployment, and certification of school personnel. It acknowledges the move toward the unification of regular education and all forms of special and compensatory education, and the assumption of leadership by broadly prepared regular line administrative officers in the school systems. It calls for the deployment of a back-up cadre of specialists who can support building-level programs through consultation and training. Such specialists also should be able to share their experience with teacher-preparation programs, which are conducted at colleges and universities, and contribute to the research programs, which are conducted in educational R & D centers. Finally, it is important to note that the kind of far-reaching structural changes proposed in Figure 1 could accelerate the recognition of teaching as a profession (Corrigan & Howey, 1980) and provide more differentiation in the roles of educators.

Effective Demonstration

The widespread restructuring of education of the magnitude proposed in this paper requires systematic planning and development. The critical first step is the establishment of programs to demonstrate the feasibility of a school-based method of delivering educational services that will accommodate the diverse learning needs of individual students in regular classroom settings. The anticipated outcome of such demonstrations is to make operational some alternative methods of effectively managing the available educational resources in order to achieve congruence between the schools' two primary objectives: equal and high-quality educational opportunities for students currently served by the various entitlement programs, and fiscal reimbursement and accountability.

Effective demonstration, in this context, is viewed as serving two important functions: (a) dissemination of effective innovative practices and (b) provision of school-based, inservice training facilities. School-based demonstrations of educational innovations, particularly those developed in the framework of the alternative restructuring approach presented here, are an effective means of disseminating information on the practical application of innovations. By making the total school a demonstration unit, new educational possibilities are modeled and the salient features of successful programs (e.g., the programs' utility, efficacy, and practicality) are displayed. In addition to the dissemination of knowledge about critical program features, school-based demonstrations provide first-hand information on the consequences of a particular educational innovation for students, teachers, administrators, parents, support personnel, and the public sector. They also serve an important training function: School-based demonstrations are rooted in a staff-development model in which an information- and process-based approach is taken to the development of the conceptual knowledge and practical skills that are required to effectuate the innovations (Wang & Glaser, Note 5).

The kind of school-based demonstrations suggested here to serve program dissemination and staff-development functions would be most effective if they were established and maintained as cooperative ventures among three professional groups who, for the most part, have worked independently in the past. These groups are the teacher educators in universities who, generally, are responsible for providing inservice and pre-service training for local school personnel; the teachers and administrators in local school districts who can provide effective demonstrations of innovative practices and programs; and a third-party intervention agent—the developer of the innovative educational practices and programs (Wang & Glasen, Note 5). The participation of schools and program developers in the demonstration of innovative educational programs is not new. In fact, it has been a widely accepted practice in a number of large-scale, school improvement efforts (e.g., the National Follow Through Program). However, the participation of teacher-training institutions in the dissemination of innovative programs is relatively rare. For example, the Dean's Grant program (Grosenick & Reynolds, 1978) is given technical assistance by the National Support Systems Project (University of Minnesota) in the development and dissemination of ideas and materials for training regular teachers to work with exceptional students in mainstream classrooms (Reynolds, Note 6).

An anticipated outcome of including effective, school-based demonstrations in our suggested approach to alternative restructures is the institutionalization of innovative programs in the local schools and their cooperating universities. Schools would become increasingly independent in establishing and maintaining the programs as the program developer (the third-party intervention agent) gradually phased out its direct training and program-monitoring roles. When local schools and universities become more independent, they can begin to assume the ownership of programs and the responsibility for conducting them effectively. Consequently, they can become change agents and take on the responsibility for training people in their own and surrounding communities. Other possible outcomes include (a) the transformation of information-based university training programs into field-based professional-development programs; (b) the development and maintenance of continuing professional-development programs that incorporate the needs and interests of practitioners; (c) increased opportunities for demonstrating how to translate theoretical and philosophical ideas, as well as research findings, into basic tools for educational change and dissemination; and (d) the increased receptivity of school personnel to innovative practices when demonstrations prove the possibility and feasibility of integrating innovative practices into the contexts of their schools.

SUMMARY

The educational restructuring described in this paper must be viewed in the context of four basic programming and procedural conditions:

1. The present structure of federal programs for handicapped children and youth should be maintained in general. It would be an unconscionable disservice to handicapped children and their families to disassemble totally the structure and operation of federal programs for handicapped persons that now are only partly established, or to require a total restructuring of policies at state and local levels. The argument here is for holding present policies and operations in place, except in cases where "waivers for plans and performance" are issued.
2. The U.S. Department of Education should work out ways of packaging (blocking) funds across various categories in order to support selected development/demonstration programs.
3. The resulting programs should be aimed at mainstreamed special/compensatory education students as well as regular students; that is, the programs should be designed to individualize school instruction for *all* children.
4. Some particulars of current federal and state rules and regulations should be waived to permit responsible experimentation in the context of certain commitments. For example, it is important to permit Title I-ESEA and special education teachers to work collaboratively in common settings rather than to impose discontinuities in student allocations and instructional programs.

If such experimentation were to be undertaken over the next several years, there is a chance that special and compensatory education programs could be restructured on a foundation of solid data rather than raw political processes.

The time is at hand for a basic restructuring of the schools. One key to that restructuring might be to use the various special and compensatory education funds, for a period of time, as developmental capital with which to change the total school system so that it can address individual differences. The overall theme of this paper is that the next few years hold the promise of revitalizing improvements, *if* we draw upon the best ideas available, divest ourselves of past errors, and commit ourselves and our resources to the task ahead. We believe that students' special learning needs cannot be adequately met unless and until a broad range of "mainstream" schooling problems are solved. At stake is the future of public education.

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GUIDES FOR FUTURE SPECIAL EDUCATION POLICY

Tom Joe and Frank Farrow

A recurrent theme in the papers presented in this volume is that special education is at a turning point. Several contributors underscore the importance of the next few years for the future of special education practice and policy in local school districts and state education agencies, as well as the federal level. Others have emphasized the choices facing university programs that train special education personnel. Whichever area is emphasized, however, the authors seem to agree that decisions made in the immediate future will impact heavily on the evolution of the field for years to come.

These authors are not unique in identifying a critical stage in the development of special education. It would have been difficult to review the Reagan administration's education proposals and to witness the accompanying Congressional and interest-group activity without recognizing that education systems are likely to undergo major structural change. The proposals to redirect federal financial support for education through block grants are only the more obvious examples of this trend. The systematic questioning of the principles and practices of education which has begun in the name of regulatory reform may have an even greater influence.

For the time being, federal statutes on special education have escaped revision. Public Law 94-142 is not affected by the legislation that will alter federal support for disadvantaged and other special student populations. However, the reexamination of Public Law 94-142 regulations now underway in the U.S. Department of Education and the prospect of an overzealous reevaluation of the law itself in the next session of Congress should forestall any illusions that the underpinnings of the nation's current special education programs will remain intact.

The Reagan Administration's proposals are not the only attempts to change special education policy. Taxpayers are demanding that state legislatures review the legal status, programmatic assumptions, and funding priority of special education. At least 14 states have legislation pending to revise their special education statutes. Most of the proposed changes are directed to reducing the entitlements created for handicapped students or to minimize the due process and procedural protections that enable parents and students to participate in educational decisions. In addition, there have been attempts to alter those provisions of current law that allow courts to obtain substantial leverage in educational policy.

All these factors contribute to the crisis portrayed by the contributors to this book. Professor Lynn takes an optimistic view, concluding that ". . . the intrinsic appeal of the program's goals, the strength of advocacy organizations, and the relative sturdiness of statutory, legal, and administrative underpinnings for the program virtually preclude outright reversal, even if not some erosion, of the changes of the past few years." Dr. Stedman is more cautious in his assessment. He predicts, "Indeed, when in the year 2000 A.D. we will look back we may see 1980 as the high-water mark of public support, funding, and interest in handicapped persons. The next decade, it seems certain, will require a period of pruning and consolidation and a focus on quality and productivity." Further, Stedman suggests that the recent "intensification of interest in traditional values, merit, success, accomplishment, competition, discipline, stability, and morality often have characterized the climate when handicapped persons have gone unrecognized or lacked effective assistance." This picture is not so rosy but it may be more realistic.

We feel that special education is facing an actual crisis and that the dangers are equally real that it will suffer legislative and fiscal cutbacks that threaten not just the level of resources allocated to special education programs but, also, the gains achieved by handicapped children in recent years. In the remainder of this paper, we characterize this situation and suggest some directions for future special education policy.

The strategies we recommend focus on *federal* special education policy because this is the area with which we are most familiar. It is also the area that will be most under attack for the next several years. In the course of this analysis, we refer to many points which are advanced by the other authors, but we are not presenting a summary in the strict sense. Rather, we try to build on the conclusions of the other contributors and to consider their implications for future policy.

THE CHALLENGE TO SPECIAL EDUCATION

The challenges facing special education will take at least three forms:

1. *Financial* changes clearly will occur. At the least, they will encompass a reduced allocation of resources to special education or a reduction in the rate of growth of these allocations. The beginnings already have been seen at the federal level where funding levels for some components of special education have been cut. States and localities, too, are reporting a slowdown in what was a spectacular growth of special education funds during the past five years. In addition to decreasing the flow of resources into special education, there may be changes in the way the resources are provided. The block grants debated in Congress are only the first step in what promises to be a serious, long-range discussion of methods for financing education. Tuition tax credits and educational vouchers, for example, will continue to be advanced as alternatives to standard, formula-based, and grant-oriented education financing methods.
2. *Political support* for special education will change. Clearly, the program has enjoyed special status and unusual political consensus over the past five years. Indeed, political support for the program remains strong, as shown by the success of its advocates and members of Congress in keeping Public Law 94-142 out of the educational block grants. But this political support shows some signs of deterioration. The backlash that is mentioned more and more frequently by special educators is not imaginary; one

has only to talk with administrators of special education in state and local education agencies to hear of new questioning of the priorities accorded to special education as opposed to general education or other human service programs. To some degree, this questioning is part of a broader backlash against the new visibility of, and extension of rights and privileges to, handicapped persons. Our sense is that most politicians remain reluctant to criticize openly the priorities set for handicapped people; nevertheless a mood is gradually building among the politicians that will result in a more direct identification of the trade-offs between the rights of handicapped persons and the costs of achieving those rights. We believe that the political forces that will oppose further increases in benefits, services, and educational opportunities for the handicapped population will be subtle and low key, and thus less easily identified by the vigorous, single-purpose advocates who have led the political fight for special education to date.

3. This challenge is the most serious: The attempts to change special education will be directed at the *fundamental principles* that now underlie not only Public Law 94-142 but, also, the developing structure of educational opportunities for handicapped children. We should not forget how recent are the federal commitments to free and appropriate public education, least restrictive environment, and other guarantees of equal educational opportunity for handicapped children. Attempts to diminish these provisions are the actual threats to handicapped children. Although special educators may regard these aspects of state and local law as inviolate, we should realize that this point of view may not be accepted by people outside of special education. A victory in one battle in Congress to preserve these principles should not be misinterpreted as having won the war.

In facing the financial, political, and what, for want of a better word, we call philosophical challenges, special education is not unlike other human service efforts. We are struck by the similarities between the position of special education today and the situation faced by other programs in the past. In fact, we think that special education advocates and administrators, as well as parents and teachers, could learn a great deal by reviewing what has happened to similar programs at comparable stages of evolution. For example, some aspects of the plight of special education today remind us of the position of community action programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Having undergone rapid growth and received significant financial support, the community action groups suddenly found themselves confronted by a changed political order and a downturn in the availability of funds. Most interesting for our topic here, the basic philosophy that had guided the development of programs was suddenly opened to debate. What had once been a basic notion of social programming and community development—the necessary empowering of local community groups—was viewed with skepticism. In short, the philosophical basis on which the program structure had been built was no longer an article of political faith. There was no strong response from the community action advocates, and the deterioration of the program quickly followed.

We are not suggesting that this process is occurring in special education, but there are several similarities. Special education, too, has generated a service structure that has proven more expensive than local governments anticipated. Like community action, the initiative for the rapid expansion of special education in many areas of the country came from the federal government rather than state and local governments.[1] The questions being raised about special education are not unlike those directed about community action; in both there is a tone of "have we gone too far?" The point, we believe, is that special educators must have a more credible response to these questions than the community action participants had if special education is to move successfully through this stage of its development.

A slightly different view of the dilemma of state special education agencies can be had when they are compared with state agency programs for the aging. Prior to 1965, such programs were a small and inconspicuous part of state government. They were given few resources and their interests were narrowly defined. They represented a specific constituency and were able to carry out their responsibilities by operating within their established bureaucratic boundaries.

From 1965 to the present, the role of programs for the aged were changed by several factors. With passage of the federal Older Americans Act, the aging programs grew rapidly and were given major funding increases. The demands for administering the increasingly complex programs far exceeded the capacities of most state agencies. Then in the mid-1970s, another challenge was posed. As the problem of long-term care for the elderly received greater attention, Congress and the states looked to the state aging agencies to take responsibility for coordinating the governmental response to this problem. Long-term care has certain resemblances to the education of handicapped children: It is multidisciplinary by nature, it requires coordination of services outside the domain of any one agency, and it is most easily supported when financial resources from various services are combined. State aging agencies, however, are having difficulty coping with these challenges. The reaction of many agencies was to avoid the immense difficulties of trying to integrate or coordinate the services of diverse state agencies toward a common goal. It seemed easier, instead, to try to build a new service system within the framework of Older Americans Act programs, even though this new system duplicated many other programs and failed to take advantage of the large amounts of money which were already available in the major categorical and entitlement programs outside the aging department's control. Those aging agencies that took on the more difficult job of negotiating with other state and local agencies to build an integrated care system were frustrated when progress was slow and the political difficulties proved great. Special education, in attempting to carry out the related services mandate of Public Law 94-142, seems to be in a similar dilemma; that is, whether to continue to try to integrate the entire state service system for handicapped children or to retreat again into the comparative safety of its familiar educational domain.

Clearly, it is difficult to talk about the current status of special education without an adversarial tone creeping into the discussion. The terms "debate," "confrontation," and "battle" recur, and there is a sense that special education somehow will have to defend itself against many outside pressures and forces. Despite the possibility, the answer does not lie only in focusing our attention outside of special education.

Part of the problem lies in the way education has defined its mission and, in particular, in the way that special education policy has attempted to carry out its mission. From our perspective outside education, some strategic misjudgments are apparent; although they are understandable and it can be argued that they are even laudable in their intentions, they may prove to be counterproductive. If special education is to be defended in the coming years, and, thereby, to retain the financial, political, and philosophical support it has enjoyed, it first must be re-examined and its policy course charted somewhat differently.

When we step back and look at where special education is today, we are struck by a disparity between the deliberations surrounding federal and state special education policies and the actual education provided in classrooms. On the one hand, we at the federal level are expending considerable energy worrying about the interaction of the major human service systems that provide assistance to handicapped children. Further, we have consumed enormous amounts of legislative, judicial, and administrative resources on such issues as what are the requirements of special education as opposed to regular education and when is a related service "educationally necessary." We have embarked on a policy course that requires Solomon-like judgments on how to divide children among professions, functional categories, and agency jurisdictions. On the other hand, the actual effects of federal policy and the actual gains to be achieved remain issues that, ultimately, must be addressed in the classrooms. Dr. Glass helps us to recall that it is the interaction between teacher and child and among peers and child that results in education.

In some instances, the connections between the level at which learning takes place and the levels at which policies are debated are very clear. But with regard to certain aspects of recent special education policy, we feel that some of the connections have become thin. Other observers of special education have noted that there is some danger now that policy is being created from the top down, out of an abstract notion of what influences educational practice, rather than from the bottom up, that is, grounded in the reality and knowledge of front-line education. The reason, to some extent, is the attention accorded to federal policy in recent years. Because of the importance of Public Law 94-142, it is easy to overlook the long history of special education and its evolution as a field with its basis in local school districts. Lynn's paper is extremely helpful in summarizing the origins and developments of special education. He points out how the configuration assumed by special education programs in local areas was influenced by the structure of education in general and financial incentives.

When Public Law 94-142 was enacted in 1975, he notes, there was suddenly a massive federal policy commitment to special education and a far-reaching mandate that required the reorientation of state programs in education as well as other human service fields. To say that the ground had not been prepared for this mandate, in terms of institutional capacity or local and state resources, is an understatement. Even in states evidencing the greatest willingness to accommodate the intent of Public Law 94-142, there was much difficulty reorienting state and local practices to conform to the law's requirements. The federal special education mandate far surpassed the capacities of state and local institutions to carry it out, not just in financial terms, as frequently has been noted, but in terms of institutional arrangements, history, and accustomed responsibilities, also.

In no way does this fact detract from the importance of Public Law 94-142 or suggest that the federal law was premature. In terms of assuring educational opportunities, the law was overdue. In operational terms, however, it created policy problems that were, and, in some respects, continue to be, disproportionate to the educational activity around which they have grown. After all, the outcome of special education is meant to be equal educational opportunity for 8-10 percent of the student population[2] on what seems to be a manageable task. Yet the special education mandate was so sweeping that it has proven difficult to carry out and has posed policy problems that are not successfully resolved even today. We think that the failure stems in part from the effort to resolve the problems in the wrong way. We have focused our attention at state and national policy rather than taking our cues on building up policy from the level at which education occurs.

It is at least worth speculating on the merits of an approach that would attempt to build policy from the bottom up in order to examine the factors that block effective education, and then to create policy options on the basis of this examination. This perspective requires us to gain an improved understanding of the current situation; identify the problems that must be resolved; and pose alternative solutions that are realistic within financial constraints and political support. Using this general three-stage perspective, we suggest some future directions for special education policy.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As a first step in understanding the current situation in special education, we need a more systematic examination and documentation of how programs operate and affect handicapped children. The growing complexity and importance of special education policy has overtaken our knowledge of how special education programs function and, particularly, how special education programs interact with the myriad other programs designed to assist handicapped children. The difficulty of this task for special educators is that their area of responsibility is greatly expanded from what it once was, given that special education has moved from being a rather small specialized field buried in general education to, at least in some sense, the cutting edge of educational policy and practice. For example, the degree to which special education has forced relations with other human service systems has been much greater than it is for general education, but it may well be a prototype of the integrated relations that will one day be required of all educational programs. Similarly, the requirement in special education for Individual Education Programs (IEPs), with participation by parent and child, represents practices that could be demanded of the consumers of all segments of public education. Even the legal rights for due process and equal protection which are extended to handicapped children exceed what is required in general education, but already there are signs that these features may come to influence mainstream education as well.

The fact that special education has now become the vanguard of educational policy may be of little comfort to special educators who are trying to understand the system. It is no longer enough for special education policymakers to know their own area; suddenly they are expected to be aware of such diverse service systems as medical care, mental health, rehabilitation, child welfare, and even correctional systems. At both state and local levels, knowledge of these related service systems and other potential education placement settings is essential if special educators are to carry out their mandated responsibilities.

The type of knowledge we envision here is purely operational. Too often, we think we understand programs if we comprehend their legislative intent and basic structure. Yet the actual local operations—the mix of formal and informal arrangements by which programs are carried out, and the half-hidden incentives that usually determine staff practice—may be far different from how the program looks on paper. It is in their operations that programs must be examined because that is where they affect families and children. As a result, it is at this level that we must seek the knowledge for the basis for policy change.

If this type of understanding is to be gained, several new directions will have to be set. Basically, we will need improved information on what services are being provided to handicapped children by each service system. One of the main reasons for the jurisdictional disputes among agencies is a lack of data on the needs of handicapped children and the capacities of agencies to meet these needs. Building such data systems will not be easy, but it will be essential if special educators are to be able to defend what they are doing.

A second step is to change the training of special education teachers. University curricula must provide them with knowledge of the other service systems that assist handicapped children: "related service" systems, in the language of Public Law 94-142. Even today, only a few staff persons in school districts understand the workings of the mental health, vocational rehabilitation, vocational education, and other related systems. At most, teachers and administrators may have some knowledge of how to arrange a referral to these systems but they rarely understand how the programs can best serve a particular child. Nor is there a systematic understanding of how special education fits into the broader constellation of services.

Without this understanding, there is little likelihood that special educators can carry out their objective of coordinating education with the related services that are crucial to a child's education, no matter what federal or state policy demands.

We acknowledge that expanded training for special education personnel puts a new burden on them, and we are wary of creating expectations that cannot be fulfilled. Certainly, we do not expect special education teachers and administrators to become experts in all the fields that contribute to the well-being of handicapped children, but we do believe it is possible to increase at least the basic understanding of these fields and that, in so doing, a special educator's job will become easier rather than more difficult. The result should be a much broader awareness of the resources that can be made available to a child, and a consequent lessening of the need for educators to provide everything required by the child. Teaching teachers what these systems should be doing is one step that can begin building front-line accountability back into the system of services for handicapped children. Once the nature of current programs is understood, the identification of critical problems and barriers to effective operation not only becomes easier but more productive as well.

In identifying problems in this field, it is necessary to distinguish between transitional problems, which are caused by institutionalizing a new practice, and problems that seem to be inherent to the program's structure and intent. The difficulties created by special education's new interaction with other human service systems illustrate this distinction. Some of the difficulties that cause friction and frequent complaints are ephemeral and will resolve themselves when practitioners adjust to new ways of doing business. For example, we would place in this category the problem of special education administrators in getting representatives of other service systems to participate in the IEP process. By contrast, some problems in this area are structural in nature and cannot be so easily dismissed. In this category we would place the larger issues of education's financial responsibilities for services that previously were funded by mental health systems. The difficulties here are not just a matter of instituting new practices; they involve the fundamental nature of special education's mandate and, thus, are appropriate problems for policy debate. Making the distinction between essential and less important problems depends on the detailed, operational knowledge that was previously described. If that understanding of program structure and operation is at hand, the sorting out of problems can be done with greater accuracy.

The third stage in the problem-solving process is a realistic posing of options for change. This part of the process requires the most creativity and the highest degree of political skills. The problems that we are trying to solve in special education do not lend themselves to "quick fixes" or short-term resolutions. Instead, almost any alternative to current problems of policies will require a careful balancing of competing interests in the allocation of scarce resources, a determination of the priorities of individual rights versus the common good, and a shrewd examination of administrative feasibility.

The political difficulties created by proposing policy changes can be best illustrated, perhaps, by examples from the recent deliberations over change in the federal special education laws. Given the Administration's announced intentions to repeal Public Law 94-142 and enfold its authorizations into one of several education block grants, the dilemma for special education advocates was to choose a course of action that was politically realistic and guarded the remarkable advances of special education in recent years. The options for response included (a) resisting any change and acknowledging no problems in the current law; (b) recognizing the need for change and proposing alternatives that preserved the essential parts of the law while suggesting improvements in other parts; and (c) accepting the block grant strategy, including a wholesale shift of responsibilities to state and local governments.

The choice in this situation becomes political as well as substantive, which is always the case in the types of policy deliberations we are considering here. The assumption that there is a substantively "correct" answer to the types of problems we are discussing is usually a myth. Substance inevitably is mixed with issues of political will and the more mundane considerations of bureaucratic and professional turf disputes. Whether special educators want to face it, their field has become particularly political, and its defense and continued progress is likely to depend on a mixture of finely tuned political skills and on programmatic suggestions. By political skills, we mean developing a strategy as well as engaging in political advocacy, although the latter is clearly essential. What we are trying to convey is the strategic judgment that must accompany the nature and timing of the programmatic recommendations that are made. Up until now, with undiluted political support at all levels of government, special educators had the rare luxury of asking for and being able to obtain almost any degree of program advancement. We suggest at the beginning of this paper that we believe those days are drawing to a close. Consequently, strategy becomes much more important. Going back to the example of possible strategies in response to the Administration's block grant proposals, most advocates elected to resist all changes in federal special education law. This strategy was successful in this session of Congress; we think it was a well-chosen course of action. In the up-coming and future sessions, however, we believe that a different approach will be necessary. Advocates will have to recognize that federal law can be improved because there are aspects that state and local governments will not continue to live with, and if special educators play a role in revising the law, change will occur with their guidance.

If special educators accept this challenge, we believe that it will be possible to strengthen the educational opportunities for handicapped children, even within the current political context. To set forth some of the directions in which we think the field will have to proceed, we refer to the dimensions of change suggested earlier: financial, political, and philosophical.

Financially, the key to future strength in special education seems to lie in two directions: It is necessary, first, to build strong connections between general and special education. Because of its favored legislative status, special education has tended to act alone, and in some states and school districts it has assumed the air of an elite corps within education. In schools, this assumption is reflected in the resentment between special education teachers and regular teachers, and in the tension between special education and general education factions at the time of budget decisions. Yet this schism is shortsighted, for both sides. If the reevaluation of special education's priority continues, it must be strongly supported by the leadership of education as a whole. In states and local districts, federal financing of special education may be determined by the decisions of general educators, particularly if block grant or consolidation proposals affect special education. Ultimately, the case for general and special education must be made together, and special educators should cultivate the relations that allow them to do so. At the same time, the advances made in special education may help to infuse regular education with some of the vitality and forward thinking that it sorely needs.

A second way to assure adequate funding for special education is to address the financing problem that persists between special education and related human service systems. It is well known by now that the sole state agency requirement of Public Law 94-142 and comparable state laws has been interpreted to require special education to pay for services that previously were the responsibilities of other agencies. There is evidence (although not enough hard data) that other agencies have taken advantage of this mandate to solve their own budget problems, and to let special education be held accountable for all costs of care for handicapped children. As a result, school districts have found themselves paying the room and board costs that previously were funded by child welfare agencies; counseling and therapy costs previously borne by mental health agencies; medical care costs previously accepted by Medicaid or other health care programs, and so forth. The dollar value of these new costs is unknown, but it is high. More important, the common interpretation that special education must pay everything has made local school boards wary of facing special education responsibilities. The potential peak costs for a few exceptional children also has deflected attention from the fact that the costs of educating the great majority of handicapped children within the programs of the local district are reasonable.

The answer here lies in determining a more appropriate financing responsibility for special education and defining the responsibilities of other service systems. Some states have begun to do so. California has recently enacted legislation that could form the basis for a statewide reallocation of responsibility, with all human service agencies each carrying its share of costs. Other states, such as Connecticut, are pursuing a new round of interagency negotiation that, at least, addresses the financial responsibility which each agency should assume. This type of serious attempt to divide responsibility between special education and other public agencies is critical if the future financing of special education is to be at a level acceptable to decision makers in Congress, at state levels, or to local school boards.

When we anticipate future directions in the political sphere, several elements seem particularly important. First, the political alliances of special education must be broader than they have been in the past. Particularly at the national level, special education policy has been formulated by people representing a relatively narrow group of professional interests. Like most federal social welfare programs in their early stages, a certain amount of pride of "ownership" is involved, and the tendency is for a profession to hold closely the prerogatives of suggesting change and advocating its enactment. We think the time is past when that narrow view is productive for special education. The goal now should be to broaden the political base as much as possible, to reach out not only to other sources of support for the handicapped but, also, to seek coalitions with a greater range of advocates for children's issues and health and welfare issues. Children's advocates have been effective on issues as diverse as child welfare, child health, and children's rights in mental health services. We believe their active support for special education interests could be obtained without much effort, particularly if they saw evidence that special education was working to better define relations with other human service systems. Participation of the broader public interest groups that traditionally focus their efforts on income maintenance and/or social service issues might be more difficult to achieve, but it could be obtained. Again, the necessary step is that special educators show some knowlege of, interest in, and support of the issues that now confront or threaten these other fields. As special education expands its substantive base, it should expand its political base as well.

The second political strategy that we believe necessary is harder to describe. We referred previously to the subtle forms of resistance that we anticipate for services to the handicapped. Under the guise of fiscal constraint, we believe that a form of subtle discrimination may evolve that will make difficult final creation of full opportunities for the handicapped population. The phenomenon seems to be similar to that now affecting racial minorities in the new resistance to affirmative action programs and other aggressive civil rights measures. It is difficult to fight, and we do not pretend to know the best weapons to use against it. However, our instinct is that even more insistent and strident advocacy is not the appropriate strategy. Stedman seems to advance a similar thought in his paper. At the least, we believe that what is needed is a more carefully wrought political approach on behalf of special education, an approach that demonstrably is grounded in a full knowledge of the difficult financial problems posed for all human service programs, and a new ability to justify the results of what we do. In no sense does this recommendation represent a turning away from strong advocacy of the interests of handicapped children; however, it may require a willingness to compromise and a capacity to see the legitimate needs of others.

With regard to the philosophical agenda, we believe that special educators cannot rest content that the philosophical base of their field is secure. We cannot list the host of conceptual problems in the field but we can suggest a few. The concept of least restrictive environment needs reexamination. Certainly, it has been misunderstood and frequently confused with type of educational placement. Even without this misunderstanding, however, we need to rethink what we mean by "least restrictive environment." If it really means the most "appropriate" setting for a child, are we saying that the decision is ultimately a matter of informed judgment? If so, how do we legislate this judgment and how do we monitor its implementation? Intuitively, we know that we want to accord handicapped children the most freedom possible and maximize their educational benefits, but we have a way to go in thinking through how these goals are best put into practice. Similarly, the practice of categorizing handicapped children, with the accompanying problems of labeling, needs to be thought through further.

On the other hand, special educators must preserve the important gains that have been won. On the basic principles of special education that are now law, there should be no compromise. Neither by statutory nor regulatory change should special educators allow a dilution of the rights to which handicapped children are entitled: (a) a free and appropriate public education, (b) education to the maximum extent possible with nonhandicapped children, (c) a nondiscriminatory assessment, (d) participation of parents in educational decision making, and (e) due process procedures to appeal the decisions made about their education. The value of these provisions has been amply demonstrated in recent years. They have powered the driving force behind the achievements of states and local school districts in improving the educational opportunities available for handicapped children. These provisions exist to assure the full development of individual potential, and should be outside of political considerations.

CONCLUSION

Our attempt here, as in all the papers in this volume, has been to challenge the field of special education. At the very least, the task that lies ahead is to defend and maintain the advances of recent years. Viewed more ambitiously, the task is to make the field even stronger than it is now. The role of the special education system must be defined: Should it coordinate all services required by a handicapped child, accept responsibility only for education, or is it possible for special education to act cooperatively with other agencies to assure the provision of all the supports a handicapped child may need?

Our recommendation would be to explore this third option, and we suggest some ways in which this exploration could be started. Ultimately, we should be concerned with the quality of the education of handicapped children and the equality of the educational opportunities provided to them. The field of special education can best achieve both by giving full attention to serving the educational interests of handicapped children while working collaboratively with other agencies to ensure that the children have access to whatever other services they may need.

FOOTNOTES

1. We recognize that most substantive advances in special education were pioneered by innovative state laws and programs, but they occurred in relatively few states prior to enactment of Public Law 94-142.

2. We do not intend to debate incidence statistics here; the reader is free to use his or her preferred numbers.

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION: A SURVEY

John Brandl

The conference focused on the effectiveness of special education and how it may be enhanced by the actions of teachers, teacher trainers, bureaucrats, and politicians. Briefly, in this paper, I will assess the effect of recent important changes in the field, changes largely brought about by legal recognition of the rights of handicapped persons.

Legislation governing the education of handicapped children and youth, especially such very important federal statutes as Public Law 94-142 (The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975), is framed almost exclusively in procedural terms: handicapped youngsters are entitled to appropriate public education, in the least restrictive environment, according to an individual educational program that is designed for each, and parents have the opportunity to participate in the development of the educational program and to contest it. Criticism of current practice tends to be directed toward violation of procedural norms, that is, to the failure of governments and schools to aggressively insure compliance with these provisions.

Apart from whether procedural norms are being met, however, it is important to know the effects of the system on the children of concern. Much of this report is devoted to that topic and to its implications for governments, schools, and the relations between special education and other social institutions that aid handicapped children. Thus the subjects addressed are part of the continuing debate on the efficacy of social policy in general.

What Do We Know?

– Handicapped children receive more attention, more services than in times past (see especially the papers by Lynn and Frankl).

– For the most part parents of handicapped children perceive their children's situation as improved. They express relief at the public participation in the tasks of caring for and educating the children. Some argue that the new social compact requiring public services and participation of parents in designing the services is itself justification for the increased governmental expenditures on special education, apart from the educational outcomes for the children (see Frankl, Macchiarola & Bailey, and Ziegler).

– Handicapped people are more integrated into the society in general and the schools in particular (see Lynn).

– There have been a host of perverse or, at any rate, unintended, consequences of legal requirements to provide educational services to handicapped children:

a. Financial and bureaurcratic incentives exist to exaggerate the number of handicapped children (see Joe & Farrow and Lynn).

b. Similar incentives are present for the schools to impose labels (of particular handicaps) on children in order to qualify for financial assistance, even though the labels frequently are not substantively defensible and carry the burdens of a stigma (see Lynn, Stedman, and Glass).

c. There is a widespread sense of frustration, inadequacy, and anger over what they perceive to be the provision of insufficient resources among classroom teachers who find themselves overwhelmed by the difficulties of adding disruptive and difficult-to-teach handicapped children to their usual classroom problems (see Lynn, Howsam, and Joe & Farrow).

d. Sometimes pressures to teach previously unserved children pit the needs of mildly and severely handicapped children against one another (see Lynn and Joe & Farrow).

– Arbitrary diagnosis of children's handicaps pervades special education and is associated with treatment and training that lack both scientific and practical justification (Lynn, Glass, Scriven, Reynolds & Wang, Hersh & Walker, and Joe & Farrow). Thus, if very large numbers of children are diagnosed according to undependable procedures and then subjected to educational methods inspired by those diagnoses, questions on the efficacy of the education become irrelevant or misdirected.

– On the average, the additional education which has been provided mildly handicapped children has not been proven to yield improved academic performance over and above how the children would have fared without it. This is the most controversial aspect of public policy related to special education today. Some put the point more strongly: "Behavioral treatments are more variable than beneficial in their effects. . . ." That is,

> [We] know that different approaches differ little *on the average* in their outcomes, but that the same approach differs greatly in effectiveness from teacher to teacher, school to school, city to city. . . . Unfortunately, I have not found a single area of behavioral treatment in which the correlation of study features with effect size was of a magnitude that permitted useful predictions (Glass).

Or, in "special education . . . the effects of the various treatments are very slight and occasional" (Scriven).

Other participants believe that the conclusions may or may not be warranted for times past, when the evaluations on which they are based were done, and they contend that those evaluations are now out of date (see Lakin). They believe that evaluations of contemporary special education, at least that provided for severely handicapped students, will yield evidence that the greatly increased resources of recent years will be shown to have produced encouraging results. Some participants would go further, arguing that the current more comfortable and respectful circumstances for severely handicapped children justify present-day special education, apart from the educational outcomes:

> Although [the] changes and developments in educational opportunities for handicapped children have not all been

carefully evaluated, it is clear that the policies and many programs, particularly those for severely and profoundly handicapped children, are successful; they have alleviated much of the neglect, denial, and frustration that were meted out to handicapped children in the past (Reynolds & Wang).

Nevertheless, we have no broad scale evaluations showing sizable average improvements in special educational outcomes in recent years.

– Notwithstanding the absence of encouraging evaluative evidence on average outcome, numerous individual instances of promising and even highly effective teaching of handicapped children have been identified. That is a corollary of the previous point (if there is any variation around average performance), but a much more encouraging point can be made here.

– A number of characteristics of effective special education have been identified and, interestingly, they appear to apply both to special and to regular education. Effective special education seems to be characterized by:

a. An orderly, disciplined school environment (Reynolds & Wang, Hersh & Walker).
b. Small classes (Howsam, Hersh & Walker).
c. High expectations of the children (Hersh & Walker, Macchiarola & Bailey, Glass).
d. Frequent evaluation and feedback (Hersh & Walker).
e. A large amount of student time spent "on task" (Hersh & Walker).
f. Teachers who are knowledgeable, enthusiastic, and concerned, and who have a sense of efficacy in their work (Glass, Hersh & Walker).

– Finally, it appears that some characteristics of effective teachers can be identified and transmitted in teacher-training programs (Howsam, Hersh & Walker).

On What Do We Disagree?

Disagreement is evident over some of the fundamental aspects of education for handicapped children:

– Some people continue to prescribe special education on the basis of medical diagnoses, matching treatment to malady. There is growing dissatisfaction with divising instructional approaches on this basis (Glass, Scriven). The objection is with both grand theory building and the so-called "medical model." "What we particularly do not need is theory hunting or grand classification efforts built on some nebulous notion of cognitive style, type of brain damage, or the like"; and by analogy, "There is no general taxonomy for automobile disorders based upon a single underlying spectrum of style or mechanical failure; there are a hundred quite different types of fault—electrical, suspension, fuel system, coding system, and so forth" (Scriven). Increasingly, people holding this view counsel not deductive but inductive research in special education, not theory building but careful observation of successful practitioners.

– Some participants contend that improvements in special education require the further professionalization of teaching. The argument goes as follows: "Effective schools demand strong teachers. . . . [T]eaching [is] the best single example of a semiprofession . . .[and, consequently, is] less able to be definitive about the appropriate intervention at any point. . . . Clearly, the education system needs a strong teaching profession and appropriate mechanisms for participation in the governance of its own affairs. Anything less will tend toward continuance of a semiprofession and suboptimal school conditions" (Howsam). Many participants disagree, claiming that the argument for further professionalization of teaching is not persuasive (Scriven) and that it would inappropriately erode the authority and involvement of parents (Frankl).

Very great disagreement is present over what the curricula of special education teacher-training institutions should be. Some participants favor closer ties to other parts of a university with much of the curriculum consisting of courses in the social and behavioral sciences; others believe that the specific demands of teacher training and the need for socialization to a profession demand greater concentration of course work within schools of education (and probably for a longer period of time than now is customary); and still others suggest that the problem should be construed not as the preparation of people to become teachers but the selection of individuals who already possess the characteristics of good teachers (Stedman, Howsam, Simpson, Joe & Farrow, Glass, Scriven).

– It may be that the education of handicapped children to some extent had been improved at the expense of effective education for other children. Variations of this point are controversial in different degrees. Perhaps mainstreaming will not be more effective until general education is (Hersh & Walker). The greater the diversity within a classroom, the less learning takes place (Howsam). Perhaps both populations can be better off (Frankl), but mainstreaming can have ill effects on both handicapped and other children (Scriven).

What Should be Done?

– As a general rule, integration of handicapped children into the mainstream should continue. Of course, almost everyone realizes that there are children and circumstances for whom it is not appropriate.

– Identifying and replicating particularly effective instances of special education should characterize the nation's efforts for improvement. (This should be understood not as antitheoretical but as a practical judgment that much gain may be possible from inductive, ethnographic studies of individual schools and classrooms) (Glass, Scriven, Hersh & Walker).

– Proponents of special education who wish to engage in political activity for their cause at this time of fiscal stringency would be well advised not to depend predominantly on raw political pressures. It is unlikely that they will be able to organize the requisite numbers of people for such tactics to be successful (Joe & Farrow). Evidence of educational efficacy is likely to be more politically influential than in the past.

– Political alliances with other interest groups can be of mutual value (Joe & Farrow, Copeland).

– Bureaucratic and political cooperation between special education and other types of social service could easily yield increased resources for special education (Copeland).

– Several kinds of incentives that are built into current special education should be changed as follows:

  a. The incentives for the sloppy assignment of pupils to treatment and training (which currently can yield increased funds) should be eliminated (Glass, Scriven, Lynn, Copeland).
  b. Rewards for effectiveness should be introduced (Hersh & Walker).

– Regarding the preparation of special education teachers:

  a. Exposure to effective teaching in laboratory schools should be reintroduced into the curricula of colleges and schools of education (Howsam, Glass, Scriven, Hersh & Walker).
  b. Learning about other social services should be a regular part of the education of prospective teachers (Copeland, Joe & Farrow).
  c. Many characteristics of effective teachers are known and there is some evidence that they can be systematically taught to prospective teachers. They should be (Scriven, Joe & Farrow).

CONCLUSION

The present is a time of considerable disillusionment with the possibility of efficacious governmental action toward social improvement. It is said that government "doesn't work." The conference puts the lie to that clumsy generalization. The resulting papers are an encouraging collection of essays. Their watchwords are integration and effectiveness.

Integrating handicapped children into the mainstream can and does improve the lot of untold numbers of young people who in times past would have led duller, less comfortable lives. (Integrating special education with other social services promises more resources and less red tape in this field.)

We know much about how to educate handicapped children, and we know how to learn more about what is effective. All over this country there are classrooms where successful teaching is happening. With good will, resources, and the flexibility to modify classrooms and bureaucracies there could be many more of these classrooms in the future.

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II. REFLECTIONS ON CONFERENCE

A RESPONSE TO GENE V. GLASS

K. Charlie Lakin

In reviewing Gene Glass' paper on the effectiveness of special education, it is important to note that his observations focus only on special education for "mildly handicapped students"; he does not discuss the educational social, or cost effectiveness of special education for students who are more severely (and less questionably) handicapped except to opine that they "are served courageously and well by their teachers and schools." Given that the purpose of this paper is to respond to Glass, I, too, refer to special education as those programs designed for students who are diagnosed, however low the reliability of the diagnoses may be, as "learning disabled," "mildly retarded," "emotionally disturbed," or "speech/language impaired." Because Glass makes observations that have serious implications, his paper must be examined carefully. Taken at its face value it could produce an effect that goes well beyond what it warrants.

EVALUATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION EFFECTIVENESS

As an empirical foundation to his observations about the effectiveness of special education, Glass relies exclusively on the outcome of a single meta-analysis synthesis of 50 studies conducted within a 50-year period. The use of meta-analysis to integrate past research on the effectiveness of special education programs and procedures certainly is appropriate. However, by relying on the one particular secondary literature source he selected for the purposes of making a general statement about the effectiveness of special education, Glass may have acquiesced to less rigorous standards of evidence than he would have set had he analyzed the primary research himself. Most of the following comments are not intended to challenge or discredit his basic observations or conclusions. But it would be unfortunate indeed if the ideas he forwards came to be accepted prima facie as derived from a convincing body of research.

Early in his paper Glass comments that the Carlberg and Kavale (1980) research, which provides the empirical foundation for observations, is "quite relevant to the question of whether worthwhile benefits accrue to pupils who are removed from regular classes and exposed to whatever activities currently go on in special classes"; this is the question Glass was asked to address at the conference. It is not clear why he selected as his only source of data on the effectiveness of what is "currently going on in special classes" a research synthesis report in which the primary studies submitted to meta-analysis had a median time lapse since original publication of something like a dozen years. Indeed, one of the studies reflecting the effectiveness of "current" practices is now a half century old (Bennett, 1932)! Certainly some explanation of why research that was almost exclusively conducted prior to the passage of Public Law 94-142 should be accepted as reflecting "current" practice in special education is warranted. Lynn pointed out in his paper that it was at least the intent of the persons who drafted Public Law 94-142 and its advocates that the legislation would have substantial influence on special education practices.

When I read Glass' paper, I sensed that my conceptualization of "current" special education practices differs from his. I sensed, too, that his perspective differed from that of Carlberg and Kavale. Looking at the results of the Carlberg and Kavale meta-analysis, Glass found that "the picture" of current special education practices "was utterly dismal," that is, current practices were found to be ineffective. But Carlberg and Kavale saw that implications of their research in a different light. They began their work by noting, "There has been a marked decline in the growth of special classes in the 1970s," and they undertook their research to substantiate "whether this movement was justified" (p. 295). In short, Carlberg and Kavale concluded that their data supported their notion of "current" special education practices (i.e., mainstreaming), whereas Glass finds the same data painting an "utterly dismal" picture of his conceptualization of "current" practices (i.e., segregated classes). Actually, Carlberg and Kavale's perspective on contemporary special education is much closer to reality, which should not be entirely surprising considering that current practices have been shaped considerably by the same studies that Carlberg and Kavale resurrected in their meta-analysis. However, the differences between Glass' perspective and that of Carlberg and Kavale do not stop here.

Glass reports that the analysis by Carlberg and Kavale "deals with the effects of placement of low IQ pupils in resource rooms or special education classes." According to Carlberg and Kavale, "(Their) main focus of investigation is to study the effect of segregated placement - the special class - versus integrated class - the regular class - for the education of exceptional children" (p. 296). In fact, it is rather difficult to ascertain what exactly was being studied. The primary research reports include some studies (e.g., Bennett, 1932; Cassidy & Stanton, 1959; Trimble, 1970) in which students attending only regular classes were compared with students attending only special education classes. However, in other studies (e.g., Carroll, 1967; Gottlieb, Gampel, & Budhoff, 1975; Lapp, 1957; Sabatino, 1971; Sheare, 1974; Walker, 1974), students who spent part-time in special classes and part-time in regular classes were compared with students who attended only segregated classes; and in still others the outcomes of students in segregated classes appear to have been compared with the averaged outcomes of combined groups of part-time special education and full-time regular education students (Carter, 1975; Smith & Kennedy, 1967). It is important to note that in these latter groups of studies, when the students who were assigned part-time to special education were compared with students who were assigned to special education full-time, the part-time group was treated as "regular class." Therefore, Glass' notion that this research "deals with effects of placement of low-IQ pupils in resource room or full-time special education classes" simply is not accurate. In fact, Carlberg and Kavale did not directly compare resource room placements with exclusively regular class placements: probably the one comparison with a contemporary appeal.

I do not mean to say that Carlberg and Kavale's comparisons are made haphazardly. In fact, the authors appear to have established a pattern of considerable contemporary relevance, comparing students in segregated classes with students in less segregated (more normalized, less restrictive) settings. Looked at in such a way the findings tend to support (albeit very weakly and unscientifically) the goal of placing students in the least segregated setting feasible, a notion strongly advanced in Public Law 94-142. Indeed, the 1980 report to Congress by the Department of Education indicated that about 70 percent of all students receiving federally reimbursed services for "handicapped" students participate to some extent in regular education classes. Of course, given that nearly every study included in the Carlberg and Kavale meta-analysis was published before the passage of Public Law 94-142, it should not be completely surprising that the implications of the research and the requirements of the law are, at least, partially congruent.

Much more should be noted about Carlberg and Kavale's research. Most important is the earlier observation that their research, for the most part, does not in itself justify Glass' conclusions. To what extent, then, does it justify any particular conclusion at all? Take, as a point of discussion the conclusion of the study by Bennett (1932). Not only is this study far too old to be reasonably accepted as representing contemporary special education but, also, even if it were done yesterday it still would be virtually inapplicable to the issue to which it was applied by Carlberg and Kavale (1980).

In her research, Bennett selected 50 students in Baltimore special classes with mental ages of 7.5 - 12.0 years. Group and individual IQ test scores were then used to identify "matching" (lower IQ) regular class students. Bennett's discussion of this research suggests that the matching procedure was grossly inadequate to insure comparability between samples. Among her observations on the biasing differences between the groups were that "almost twice as many children in the special group as in the grade group had obvious disabilities," and "The grade group (regular class) showed less tendency to indulge in show-off activities and to get into trouble of a mischievous or adventurous nature" (p. 47). The socio-economic differences between the two groups were substantial and favored the regular education students. Bennett clearly pointed out that "it cannot be determined from the data obtained whether the difference (between groups) is due to selection or to different educational treatment, *but evidence points to difference in selection*" (p. 77, italics added). It must not be assumed that the Bennett study suffers from a lack of sophistication which was rectified by the more recent studies reviewed by Carlberg and Kavale. Some of the most recent studies included in the meta-analysis (e.g., Carter, 1975; Kendall, 1977) were virtually identical in methodology to Bennett's study and, in fact, some provide even less relevant sets of data for evaluating the efficacy of "special education." However, this should not be construed as a criticism of any particular study cited because few authors ever contended that their studies were relevant to the issue of special education's effectiveness. It is simply to say that Glass' assertion that the Carlberg and Kavale meta-analysis included only "controlled" studies does not pass even the most tolerant scrutiny. Unfortunately, the random assignment of students to treatments, especially when one treatment may be considered a deprivation, is difficult. Nevertheless, the very minimum "control" that should be expected (or accepted) is that participants in such studies have been assessed and equated for pre-treament ability in the same areas in which the post-treatment data were collected. Intelligence test scores, it should be needless to say, do not meet such a minimum standard.

As a parting note on the studies included in the Carlberg and Kavale research one must reassert that meta-analysis, or any other research integration technique, cannot improve on the quality of the primary research, no matter how much one might want it to do so and no matter how appealing it may be to have a single index that "answers" a complex social question. In short, when you put garbage in, you get garbage out. In the final analysis, the Carlberg and Kavale research probably discredits special education less by suggesting that historically it has tended to have little positive impact on students in segregated special classes, than it does by listing publicly 50 studies that demonstrate the level of concern shown for evaluating the effectiveness of a multibillion dollar enterprise. In a more general sense, this inadequate level of evaluation shows the problem inherent to assigning to an agency that functions primarily as an advocate/enforcer for a social program (e.g., the Special Education Programs Office) the concurrent responsibility for the adequate assessment of that program.

In general, two observations can be made about the research synthesized by Carlberg and Kavale and discussed by Glass: (a) it is grossly inadequate to provide a definitive answer to the important and complex educational issue to which it is applied, and (b) about the only valid conclusion one can draw from such widely—almost wildly—variable studies is that the programs deemed to represent special education differed considerably in their effects on students. Some programs appear to have been quite beneficial, some rather harmful, and some to have made little or no difference in student achievement or social development. One can only assume that this variability is accounted for, to some extent at least, by identifiable factors not examined in the meta-analysis procedure. However, it would appear to be an oversimplification to say, based on the small (average) effect size, that placements in special education programs have little impact on students. The evidence indicates that such placements often have considerable effect, although that effect may be indirect and hardly associated with the dichotomous factor, special education/regular education. In other words, something makes a difference in what students eligible for special education achieve, but that special something does not appear to be found more predictably in any particular type of classroom setting. Identifying the factors, particularly those that can be manipulated by policy, should be of considerable concern among those who advocate in the name(s) of "mildly handicapped" children.

A Response to Gene V. Glass

EVALUATION OF DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS-PRESCRIPTIVE TEACHING

Glass' position on the efficacy of the diagnostic-prescriptive method of teaching is sound, although hardly new. It is a professional disgrace, given the wealth of evidence made available in the past decade, that his position still may be seen as controversial in some quarters. Not only has the diagnostic-prescriptive approach lacked substantiated effectiveness in teaching children but, also, its general acceptance in special education circles has encouraged the creation of many essentially worthless, though profitable, enterprises of psychometry and "treatment." Its demise as an educational paradigm is long overdue as the research cited so clearly shows. In his observations on the Arter and Jenkins' (1979) review of diagnostic-prescriptive methods, Glass is a little flippant in criticizing the two authors for being "too attentive to small niceties of methodology." Whoever undertakes to convey the state of knowledge in an area has the responsibility to inform readers thoroughly on the quality of the observations supplying the data for that report. Certainly a careful look at the Carlberg and Kavale meta-analysis demonstrates this rule. Nor will everyone find Arter and Jenkins' call for a "moratorium on advocacy" of diagnostic-prescriptive teaching particularly unreasonable, at least not until someone effectively counters the data they present in their study. This is particularly true where such advocacy is advanced in teacher-education programs and thus perpetuates procedures that have been frequently and sufficiently discredited. A moratorium would suggest the emergence of minimum professional standards which are so desperately needed to govern (special) education practices. It is true that Arter and Jenkins do not substantiate the statement that "unsupported expert opinion and teacher training programs resulting from this opinion appear to have a direct, deleterious effect on teacher behavior and an indirect effect on children's learning" (p. 350). Nevertheless, they probably do have a case to the extent that these otherwise harmless activities detract time and effort from direct instruction of academic tasks, from placing children in curricula at their ability level, from maximizing academically engaged time, and from other instructional acts known to affect student performance. Given the wealth of data reviewed in Arter and Jenkins' research, it is outrageous that these essentially useless "professional" practices are allowed to persist.

In each of the other two studies of diagnosis and/or training of "psychological functions" (Kavale & Mattson, 1980; Kavale, 1981), Glass raises further questions on whether meaningful benefits accrue to students through the diagnostic-prescriptive treatment model. Regarding the first (Kavale & Mattson, 1980), Glass agrees with the two investigators that only very minor gains are found among students trained in the more commonly used perceptual-motor programs. Regarding the second (Kavale, 1981), Glass and Kavale disagree somewhat on what was shown. The latter concluded that efforts to train students in the "psycholinguistic" skills identified by the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA) were effective; he summarized his conclusions as follows: "The clear superiority of psycholinguistically trained subjects over control subjects appears to represent a reasonable criterion for assuming the validity of psycholinguistic procedures" (p. 306). Glass disagrees; he finds, "The average effect sizes are small by most standards." Whoever is right on the effectiveness of psycholinguistic training programs in teaching whatever it is that the ITPA measures, Glass makes the important point that "it is necessary for those who counsel psycholinguistic training in special education classes to demonstrate that it pays dividends in school learning." This condition for assessing treatment appropriateness should be extended to all general and specific practices intended to benefit students who are deemed to need any form of intensified or modified educational service. To meet this condition, the seemingly inexorable inductivism involved in placing students in special schools, special classes, and/or special programs, or even assigning them to teachers "specifically trained" to educate a particular diagnostically determined "type," must finally and forever be laid to rest. Enough is known about factors that increase the probability of pupil achievement to develop educational programs that capitalize on those factors (Becker, 1977; Bemis & Luft, 1970; Bloom, 1980; Brophy & Evertson, 1974; Good, 1979; Hersh & Walker, this volume, Medley, 1977; Rosenshine, 1977; Stallings, 1979). Eventually, the concept of psychoeducational diagnosis must be replaced by the far more appropriate notion of an individual needs assessment, conducted with realistic consideration of each student's present academic and social status as well as the potentialities of available options for bettering that status. Until someone can absolutely demonstrate that the conditions of learning for "handicapped" students differ from those of nonhandicapped students, the individual needs assessment should focus on providing the optimal conditions for learning. To do otherwise is malpractice in a very real sense.

CONCLUSIONS

The day seems ever nearer when special educators will be compelled to cease their increasingly unpalatable supplications in the name of "the handicapped" and, instead, to speak of what they can do for children who need alternative educational programs. There is a growing awareness that many students who need special educational services are simply not handicapped, and many handicapped students simply do not need special educational services. The designation of the majority of schoolage students receiving supplemental education as "handicapped" is not only inappropriate but it has become a clear form of social exploitation used to entice increases in special education funding (who could have made such gains in the name of demonstrable effectiveness?) when other uses of those funds might have brought about the same or better results. Based on any reading of the literature on special education's effectiveness, only the strongest apologist could deny that special education has been far less successful in delivering on its promises than collecting on them.

Today, special education appears to be an inextricable tangle of concepts and practices that often are ineffective and sometimes dysfunctional, yet they provide the skeletal structure to support students who share the characteristic of failing to progress in traditional educational programs. It is unfortunate that the passage of Public Law 94-142 has tended to reify many special education concepts which were not clear in 1975 and which have been shown to be essentially meaningless since then. However, the recent evolution of special education has clearly been toward greater normalization of educational experiences. There is good reason to believe that the press will continue for more rational systems of providing intensified and modified educational programs to pupils who need them, systems with educational (not medico-diagnostic) standards for qualifying and reimbursement to programs based on the actual costs of services delivered (not body counts). In a time of dwindling resources, systems that allow schools to develop and define program and personnel needs functionally rather than categorically should be welcomed. Certainly, any reading of research directly or indirectly related to the effectiveness of special education makes clear that there is no magic of which students will be consistently deprived if alternatives to the present system are made objects of experimentation.

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CONFERENCE REACTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE 1980s

Martha Ziegler

As a parent-advocate for children with special needs, I found the conference discouraging overall. A disproportionate amount of the discussion focused on what I consider outmoded attitudes toward labeling. Those papers and comments that focused on current realities in public education (Howsam, Corrigan, and Copeland) were scarcely more encouraging.

Given the widespread criticisms of the public schools, one must wonder whether the trend toward private education may not be a necessary step toward the demonstration that quality education for *any* child requires more money, more resources, better training, and what Howsam calls the "professionalization" of teaching.

Much of the discussion on problems with IEPs appeared to stem from flaws of interpretation and application rather than the nature of the concept. However, handicapped children's advocates should note Chancellor Macchiarola's warning: the considerable danger that IEPs can be used to "legitimate low expectations" for those children who are served in special education. Parents and teachers and other educators should heed this warning.

It was most discouraging to hear leaders in the field of special education still succumb to the temptation to label children rather than the services they need. There was even a hint that it might be more comfortable to argue the merits of "misclassification" of children rather than to confront the fundamental challenge, that is, the racism and prejudices that are so pervasive in our society and public schools. It was also dismaying to find how tenacious the medical model still is; for example, the terms "diagnosis" and "treatment" kept recurring in the discussions. Let me call your attention to H.L. Mencken's comment, which I must paraphrase, that we know what we think when we hear what we say.

Interesting, important observations on the relative separation of special from regular education were made by Fisher, Copeland, Corrigan, and Reynolds. To what extent and how soon this separation should be reduced were topics that could have been pursued profitably in more depth. In fact, Copeland's citation of the states that have succeeded in integrating all financial supports for education was one of the few encouraging items of information that were presented.

I cannot argue with Reynold's statement that a drop in funds with no accompanying drop in demand *requires* structural change, and that there is a need to "reconstruct the mainstream." (I wish this idea could have received much more attention.) It would be a terrible mistake to retreat from the just claims of special education on mainstream schooling and to deprive mildly handicapped students of the services they need to reach equality of opportunity.

Many references were made to the need to build coalitions and develop new alliances among educators and between educators and laypersons, but there remained an implication that somehow someone else should do that work. It would have been helpful to have pursued the aim at least a bit further: Alliance for what? For children in general? For handicapped children? For education? For public schools? For all services needed by children?

Finally, for my position as a working advocate of handicapped children in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I would like to clarify some of the observations made by Lynn on the operation of our special education law (Chapter 766). To start, the tax rebellion that occurred in November 1981 was primarily a revolt against overreliance on the property tax for a variety of services; there is no compelling evidence that the vote had much to do with special education. The talk about a backlash, it should be noted, almost always comes from municipal officials who must parcel out inadequate funds and not from the parents of intact children; sometimes the talk about backlash sounds almost like wishful thinking by these officials.

Lynn reflects the not uncommon criticism of due process in special education, namely, that these procedures benefit primarily middle-class parents and promote segregated placement. On the matter of placements, one should note that school systems capitulate in a disagreement if they think they probably will lose the case; thus they are much likelier to resolve a dispute over mainstreaming or least restrictive placement well before the disagreement reaches the formal level of due process. Local schools have excellent chances of defeating private, segregated placements in due process hearings. It is true that middle-class parents are most likely to benefit from due process guarantees but the disparity holds for many more areas of life than education. This fact of life certainly is not an adequate reason for reducing due process guarantees. Instead, we must find ways to make those guarantees more accessible to more families: through better use of trained lay advocates, better information and training for parents who are poor and members of minority groups, and whatever other methods will extend rather than eradicate the expression of rights.

My discouragement was somewhat mitigated by Gunnar Dybwad's placement of our current situation in a much larger context, both in space and time. Despite the current political setbacks, I agree with him that some basic changes have occurred which will not be undone by cuts in funds or a switch to block grants. To use Gilhool's terminology, parents and many other persons whose lives are closely entwined with the lives of handicapped persons have "internalized" some truly fundamental improvements in how our society thinks about and behaves toward persons with handicaps.

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III. EPILOGUE

STRATEGIES FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE 1980s: A CONFERENCE EPILOGUE

William C. Copeland

The Wingspread Conference was convened to examine parts of the history and operations of special education over the past decade, especially in the light of Public Law 94-142, and to propose and examine possible strategies for the 1980s. Four papers were specifically devoted to strategies, and relevant issues were discussed in the background papers.

A number of apparent agreements about strategies for the 1980s emerged:

1. "Strategy" does not simply include the politics of financing and handicapped children's rights. It also includes questions of teacher preparation, teachers' pay, teachers' rights, teaching technology, governance of schools, timing and sequencing of special education services, design of fiscal incentives and a number of others.

2. Strategic questions are important not only at the national level but, also, at the state level where most issues of financing and organization must be resolved. Any strategy for the 1980s, therefore, should include both federal and state-level dimensions.

One major thread of discussion at the Conference was that although some changes in Public Law 94-142 would be rational, any concessions in the present political climate probably would result in irrational changes, simply because no well-thought-out revisions could go through Congress, given the current "New Federalism" position of the Reagan administration.

3. On national priorities, the consensus was that if there were to be "give-backs" at all in Public Law 94-142, then the first cuts should be in money and the second in definitions, although some nonarbitrary changes are needed, and that no compromise is possible on enforceable provisions regarding children's and parents' rights.

4. Consensus was apparent also on questions of the linkage of special education with other forms of education (e.g., regular and remedial). The problems of special education are the problems of general education, whether seen from political, fiscal, or substantive points of view. Further, there appeared to be some support for the linking of special education agencies to other human services agencies whenever possible for both educational and political reasons.

The history of public education can be read in a number of ways. One, which was popular with conference participants, is to deal with it as the history of exclusionary practices. That is, in the early period of public education, the teaching job was carried out successfully by dealing only with pupils who could be most easily taught. The disruptive, the slow, the handicapped, the racially and ethnically different, simply were not accepted (or, if accepted, not retained). With the rise of compulsory education, the forms of exclusion became more sophisticated (e.g., tracking, segregation of minority and handicapped children, classification of disruptive pupils as handicapped, and intraclassroom isolation with "social promotion"), but exclusion continued.

The grand strategy of educational reform in the 1960s and 1970s was to redress the exclusionary injustices of the past by providing separate programs for children and youth who were poor, excluded minorities, culturally or linguistically disadvantaged, and handicapped; supplying separate funding for each population as incentives to state and local education agencies to institute the programs; requiring in general that most reforms be carried out in the context of integrated classrooms; and ignoring the problems of the general public educational system which was responsible for putting the reforms into practice.

Recognition of this strategy led to rough agreement at the Conference on the great dilemma of capability or legality in public education. In Howsam's terms, *as the schools are now staffed, organized, and financed, they can only teach well if they exclude; conversely, if they do not exclude, they cannot teach well.* Put another way, under present conditions schools can meet their substantive educational requirements only if they violate constitutional requirements; or, they can meet their constitutional requirements only if they violate those substantive educational requirements. In general, most of the discussion and analysis flowed from this recognition, or provided some reinforcement for the opinion.

Thus we are left with the following kinds of general options for the 1980s:

1. Back down on the constitutional mandates (or their procedural implementation), or
2. back down on the teaching goals, or
3. change the staffing (and preparatory education), organization (not only of schools internally but, also, of the governance of the education system), or financing (in amount as well as structure) of public schools, or all three.

The general thinking of the conference participants was that if we do not pay close attention to the third option, we shall have to suffer one or both of the first two.

THE SPECIAL EDUCATION STRATEGY IN THE 1970s

Public Law 94-142 was the product of a "rights-oriented" era in which the basic assumption was that if protections for the rights of the target group of interest were built into legislation, then the implementation—aided by federal money as an incentive—would take care of itself. Lynn and Stedman both make these points in some detail, as does the Reynolds and Wang paper.

Thus the legislation contained a number of principles that gave a general direction to the provision of educational services for handicapped pupils and a basis for legal action in cases in which the principles were not upheld. The principles are the right to a free, appropriate public education; assurance of services in a setting conducive to the individual's optimum development, including maximum interaction with nonhandicapped peers; entitlement to comprehensive, nondiscriminatory assessment; an individualized education plan; parental participation in planning and decision making; due process rights for child and parent; and responsibility to the state education agency for coordinating education and related services.

With those principles went a pot of money, the amount of which, for any given state, depended upon the number of children identified as handicapped.

Hersh and Walker and Reynolds and Wang note that a number of explicit or implicit assumptions underlie the legislation. They are as follows:

1. Given that research evidence suggests no difference in effectiveness between regular and special education settings, handicapped children should be exposed to the normalizing influences and benefits of less restrictive environments (Hersh & Walker).

2. The basic implicit incentive of Congressional funding is not to change public schools but to insure that no child is excluded from them (i.e., encouragement of "bounty hunting"; Reynolds & Wang).

3. No one federally supported categorical program interacts with any other (Reynolds & Wang). Put another way, "the logistical and financial burdens of Public Law 94-142 would not prove overwhelming to an already highly stressed schools system" (Hersh & Walker).

4. Regular classroom teachers, if they receive appropriate pre-service and inservice training, can accommodate handicapped children effectively with the support of technical assistance from special educators and other special teachers (Hersh & Walker).

5. Handicapped children will acquire more appropriate behavior repertoires through exposure to and interaction with nonhandicapped normal children in less restrictive settings (Hersh & Walker).

6. No incentive system, such as reduced class size, is required to motivate receiving teachers and to compensate them for the added burden and special skills associated with the accommodation of handicapped children (Hersh & Walker).

7. Labeling should be used to denote a condition, in a precise way, for which there is a differential, and potent, prescription, with no side effects of the child's assuming a "handicapped role."

It can be argued, according to Hersh and Walker, that the preceding assumptions are wrong.

Most contributors to this publication agree that tremendous accomplishments have occurred under Public Law 94-142 but that the assumptions underlying financial incentives, organization and teacher training are incorrect.

The one assumption that seems to have held up is that the majority of children (i.e., other than the severely handicapped) do no worse under mainstreaming conditions.

William C. Copeland

THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION REFORM IN THE 1980s

The conference discussions on policy strategies for the 1980s differed noticeably from discussions in, say, the early 1970s. Whatever the current policy approach, discussants always started with a set of things that needed to be done *first*—a set of necessary conditions for reform. These necessary conditions were of two kinds:

1. *The integration of special education with regular education.* The forms of integration proposed, in either the papers devoted to those topics or open discussions had little to do with formal reorganization—"shuffling of boxes around." Rather, the conditions centered on incentives, power and authority, widespread role changes for educators, and the requisites for successful teaching. They followed from the fairly general criticism that the education task had been successful in preserving rights and procuring financing but not in implementation.

2. *Linking education, at the level of state and local government, to other interest groups and other kinds of public agencies.* Without these two kinds of underlying change, many discussants appeared to believe, the other questions of policy were not soluble.

INTEGRATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS WITH OTHER HUMAN SERVICES SYSTEMS

Two key problems were noted by the primary authors and reactors in this area. They tend to break down into three kinds of questions each of which generates a major task for the future.

1. The special education enterprise needs to be integrated with the public education enterprise. At present, they tend to function as separate, relatively uncoordinated systems. Except for the most severely handicapped, they should be one integrated enterprise.

2. Linking special education to the external human services environment. (a) The special education enterprise is badly linked at both ends of the age continuum with pre-school and post-secondary programs; better integration is needed there. (b) The special education enterprise needs better linkages to the "related services" agencies.

The problem of simultaneous integration needs for special education is shown graphically in Figure 1 where the dotted lines indicate the discontinuities between the two types of educational services systems, among age groups, and between the educational and related services systems.

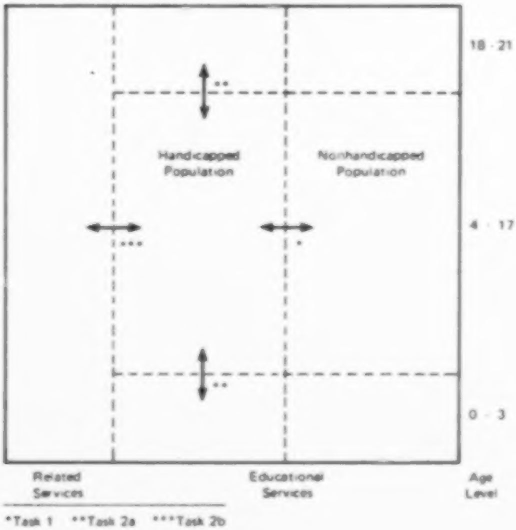
Integrating Special Education with Regular Education

All conference participants agreed that the special education question was in fact the public education question. The real problem, Sam Kirk noted, was that many educators had recognized this oneness for more than 30 years but they rarely went beyond the recognition.

Inclusion and Exclusion. Why had the public education system grown up in this way? The answer seems to be implicit in the system design of U.S. public education. Its structure, power arrangements, social position, financing arrangements, training, and classroom organization evolved during the late nineteenth century and persisted, unchanged, into the present. It survived as a system by excluding those children whose presence was inconvenient; survival depended, for the most part, on relatively homogeneous student bodies. Howsam's general analysis of this aspect of the special education public education problem repays careful reading, as does the Hersh and Walker paper on the particulars of the problem at the classroom level.

Figure 1

The Integration Problem for Special Education: The Three Basic Tasks of Linkage
(The tasks are discussed in the text)



Over the last 20 years, this unchanging system was assaulted by new demands in the form of requirements to include all those groups which it had excluded before: ethnic, cultural, and linguistic minorities, and poor and handicapped children. Thus, the classroom teacher, who could exist fairly well with less variable groups of pupils and the safety valve of exclusion for those that were disruptive and inconvenient under the traditional design, now had to cope with wider distributions of cognitive ability; wider distributions of pupil behavior; wider distributions of physical assistance needs on the part of the pupils; and increased responsibilities for underlying information management needs.

The Impact of Program Additions. The additional demands on the system of public education would have been enough to elicit anger or passivity. However, the categorical approach to the solution of social problems which was so characteristic of national politics in the last 20 years introduced additional strains on the education system. As public attention focused on each subgrouping of "marginal" students (handicapped, migrant, disadvantaged, bilingual, and Indian), separate programs were created, each with its own bureaucracy, time line, evaluation-monitoring system, and annual "soft-money" appropriation. Particularization further eroded the conditions of homogeneity by creating (a) logistical segmentation of programs in the school system, school building, and classroom ("the assumption appears to be that no one program interacts with any other," Reynolds & Wang), resulting in greater responsibilities for classroom management and greater complications in curriculum planning; (b) a "two-class" personnel system, in which some teachers were part of the standard, tenure-holding, seniority-protected personnel system, whereas increasing numbers of others were members of a year-to-year, "soft-money" group; with (c) competing authority structures.

Frankl noted, in viewing such questions, "our administrative scheme works against us." In New York City, for example, the regular education program below the secondary level is the responsibility of the local school boards and superintendents yet, by law, special education is provided under the aegis of the central office; its centrally appointed and accountable officials have no authority in the schools where they most work. Indeed they are a "foreign body" in the schools.

What we have, ultimately, is an institution designed to function only under conditions of relative homogeneity of pupil population through a relatively simple command structure, parts of which date back to the fourteenth century ("You're not trying to change an institutional structure, you're trying to change a culture," Dean Corrigan said), which is now responsible for dealing with a far more heterogeneous population and an increasingly fragmented administrative and program structure.

The schools adapted as best as they could. However, with no overall vision, no change in classroom organization, no changes in teacher incentives, no change in teacher preparation, no classroom-management support (especially for the increased tasks of accountability documentation), no rational designs for the more complicated logistics of mainstreaming education, with its incredible increase in student cognitive, physical-capacity, and behavioral variability, and no systematic attempts to reduce that variability to manageable levels, the "fragile ecology" (Hersh & Walker's phrase) of public education was increasingly endangered.

Necessary Conditions for an Inclusionary, Integrated School System. How shall we unite the regular education and special education tasks? How, if at all, can we put the two together (not again but, actually, for the first time)?

A number of necessary conditions were mentioned by the conferees:

A. Financial incentives:
   1. paying for adequate training,
   2. paying for adequate educators, and
   3. paying for performance.

B. The availability of technology to make unity happen:
   1. cognitively and socially, and
   2. for teachers and pupils.

C. An organizational concept that supports unity:
   1. reduced pull-outs; special educators as consultants to regular classroom teachers,
   2. technological support for classroom management,
   3. one administrative line rather than multiple branches,
   4. no separate program categories,
   5. no artificial labels for children, and
   6. all but children with the most severe disabilities in the same classroom.

D. Training as a pre-condition to effectively functioning mainstream classrooms:
   1. training teachers to deal with behaviors and physical needs beyond their usual experience, and
   2. training children to minimize their "problem" behaviors prior to assignment to regular classrooms.

Linking Special Education to External Human Services

Like most bureaucratic systems, special education, and primary/secondary education in general, are remarkably self-contained. This would not be a problem if the persons dealt with and the services applied to their problems were equally self-contained. However, problems, needed services, and persons spill over their boundaries.

Some persons need special education before the age of 4 and after the age of 18. To a significant extent, their needs within the education system from age 4 onward are affected by the services they receive prior to the age of 4. Further, their well-being after the age of 18 is significantly affected by how well the "hand-off" is made from the educational to related human services systems. Also, for persons between the ages of 3 and 19, the school system that is responsible for their education must find a way to provide "related services" either from within itself or from outside agencies. Joe and Farrow note the difficulties of making such bureaucratic connections in their discussion of similar problems in state aging agencies.

Thus, when the mandate for "related services" was handed down, education agencies found it simply too difficult to negotiate cross-agency agreements for the provision of services with health, mental retardation, welfare, juvenile justice, and mental health agencies. In fact, many such agencies took the opportunity to transfer some of their budget problems to state and local education agencies.

Thus it can be said fairly that whereas part of the rapid increase in special education costs can be attributed to educating children and youth who previously were not served in schools and part to the exacerbation of the built-in operating inefficiencies in the existing education system, a significant proportion of the perceived increase in costs stems from cost shifting; that is, from physically moving children into different programs or by shifting costs from state agency appropriations to the appropriations of state and local education agencies.

What, in some cases, had been costs to nursing homes or state institution accounts in state budgets, Title XX social services accounts, schools for the deaf or blind accounts, or state and/or local grants for mentally retarded, mentally ill, or physically handicapped persons have now become state education agency or local school board costs. On the federal side, a significant shifting of costs out of SSI, Medicaid, and Medicare occurred.

This change had two massive effects:

1. The costs, in general, were shifted from more progressive (and richer) tax bases to more regressive (and poorer) ones.
2. The responsibility for school-age handicapped children was more and more shifted out of related categorical agencies and generic services or services-funding agencies into the relatively self-contained education system.

Given our present situation, we are faced with two options: (a) to continue to try to integrate the entire state service system for handicapped children, or (b) to retreat into the comparative safety of the familiar educational domain.

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR THE 1980s

Discussions of national strategy were somewhat muted at the Conference. Because the Conference was held about three months after the passage of the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981, many conferees were aware that they could be holding discussions directly in the path of a hurricane. If the implementation of President Reagan's theory of radical devolution of the domestic functions of the federal government were to continue at the same speed as in the preceding nine months, then it was not clear what kind of national strategy should be discussed. At the same time, there was an air of being chastened by the "failures of success" in special education. An Act had been passed, with full statements of rights and increasing funding (although not near what had been the early expectations), and tremendous changes had taken place in the states. Nevertheless, the dominant tone at the Conference was that of dissatisfaction with the educational practices and outcomes. As a result, it was not a time for presenting bold, new national programs. Rather, the emphasis tended to be, hold on to what we have; move toward investigations of more effective practices; and concentrate on state-level and substantive strategies rather than national political and fiscal strategies.

In this section, I discuss some of the alternatives, first at the national level and then, at the state level.

National Strategies

There are basically three national-level approaches we can follow for the 1980s; each has some general substrategies.

1. We can stand pat on the current national legislation and
   a. do nothing, or nothing more than we have done, in developing infrastructures for a future strategy, or
   b. we can develop a substrategy that admits we do not have the basis now for a new global strategy, but we can develop an infrastructure as the eventual basis for a new global strategy.
   OR
2. We can simply accept cutbacks at the national level in
   a. money, or
   b. definitions of who is eligible, or
   c. total numbers eligible, or
   d. procedural protections.

   OR
3. We can develop a new national legislative approach that foresees the parallel development of new infrastructures.

A number of persons at the Conference wanted, in one way or another, to stand pat. They seemed to have two kinds of reasons. In one strand of opinion, we were urged, at least implicitly, to stay where we are because we had no suggestions on where to go from here (but we certainly do not want to give up our present attainments). For example, Lynn urged the conception of the present as a time for consolidation; and Macchiarola, who expressed the idea that we are "feeling around" for what to do next, supported him. Whether a specific strategy should be adopted to build a new infrastructure while we stand pat on the national legislation was a function of individual beliefs about its feasibility. For example, Hersh and Walker, who have been working on these possibilities, urged this strategy—at a minimum.

No one wanted to follow a cutback strategy but a number of papers focus on the possibility; for example, that of Stedman, who was the most gloomy on the subject, Reynolds and Wang, who looked at how cutbacks could come about, and Joe and Farrow, who felt that a three-pronged attack on the law was already underway.

Another group wanted to follow the last alternative. Reynolds and Wang and Hersh and Walker present the basis for such an approach. Roughly, it would entail the following, on a national level:

1. Public Law 94-142 would remain as it is today, as far as procedural guarantees of rights go, with federal money perhaps diminishing somewhat.

2. For those school districts willing to be judged on a performance basis, six-year waivers of procedural guarantees would be provided in a trade-off for performance guarantees. Such performance guarantees would require

a. documentation of children under all current categories of program;
b. documentation of incremental services for all children with physical, mental, or behavioral problems;
c. no fewer than an agreed-upon percentage of children receiving regular classroom teaching, within two years of beginning of the waiver;
d. documentation of outcome, in terms of specific skills, knowledge, or "readiness" for the proportions of children meeting the agreed-upon norms; and
e. performance of documentation by an agency independent of the school district or state agency of that school district.

Thus, only those school districts willing to guarantee continuance of services to all children with problems, on a measured, nonexclusionary basis, in such a way that children would meet expected norms in terms of reading, math, "job-" or college-readiness, with the measurements to be made independently of the school system, would be eligible for the "trade-off waiver."

In return for those guarantees—annual documentation of total service provision, nonexclusionary behavior, and annual documentation of outcomes at the end of the third through sixth years of the waiver—the school district or part of it under waiver would receive its proportion of all federal funding and associated state and local funding for all current formula categories on a block-grant basis. Thus, if a school district had Title I, special education, migrant education, Native American, and bilingual education programs, the grants for them would be blocked for the waiver's purposes. For comparison purposes with nonblocked districts, data according to the old clinical and income categories would continue to be collected to establish a basis for comparison with school districts under "old" classification criteria.

This approach, although liked by many, was not popular with other conferees. Two major criticisms were that federal waivers tended to be awarded on a political basis, no matter how designed; and, if the federal government's record is already as poor on monitoring and protecting client rights in education programs as is claimed by many observers, then how can we expect monitoring and compliance enforcement to be any better in this kind of endeavor, especially in an era characterized by the dominant politics of human services deregulation?

State-Level Strategies

Two basic strategies can be followed at the state level: (a) go-it-alone, or (b) create alliances with related-services agencies.

The two have many common characteristics. The second strategy requires far more work, somewhat more risk, and considerably more political and budget sophistication, but its potential returns are much larger.

Going It Alone for Education

At the state level, today, the pressures on special education tend to elicit services that duplicate those provided by other kinds of agencies out of other revenue sources. If the pressures were allowed to prevail, related services could be increasingly paid for by "education money" from an increasingly isolated education establishment.

Should such a go-it-alone strategy be accepted (making a virtue out of perceived necessity), then it would only be successful if a closer linkage was established between special and general education interest groups, and both worked for all children, nonhandicapped as well as handicapped. Common interests, of course, would have to be recognized as such. This means that the interest groups would work to maintain or enlarge the share of state funding identified as "for education," and they would try to insure the use of the funds to serve all children adequately. Ideally, the joint efforts would result in "maximal mainstreaming"—the organization discussed by Reynolds and Wang—and thus would maximize the common interests of both special and general education communities.

How does the education community assure the growth of the educational investment? The record of the immediate past provides little basis for optimism. During the 1970s, public spending for all education increased 7.9 percent per year, or about the annual inflation rate. Thus, no actual growth in public education spending occurred during the period, while the responsibilities of schools for additional classes of tasks increased tremendously. The number of persons under 21 held constant until the last three years of the decade (and declined only about 4% then), and higher education was still growing rapidly.

The 7.9 percent rate compares unfavorably with the 13 percent annual rate for all other public social welfare accounts (i.e., Social Security, public assistance, health, public retirement, etc.). By the end of the 1970s, the total public education investment in the United States had slightly more than doubled; all other social welfare spending had more than tripled. It would appear, therefore, that the political power of the education establishment was not all that great during the decade compared to aging and health interests. How can this situation be changed?

1. It is worth noting that the power of organized disability groups was relatively great during the 1970s, whether in special education, health, or income-maintenance spending. Thus, general education interests should welcome the reaching out of the special education group. This kind of political coalescence should increase the power of education groups in general.

2. The linkage of disabled children's groups with education groups joins the lesser motive power of "good government" with the stronger motive power of concerned parents' groups.

3. The education community must develop the "human capital" or "seed corn" arguments more clearly for legislators. It is clear to many voters and legislators in the Twin Cities (Minnesota), the Route 28 area in Massachusetts, the Research Triangle area in North Carolina, and the San Jose/San Francisco metro areas in California that good primary, secondary, and post-secondary education systems are the motive power of

superior economies (and it is equally clear to writers in *Fortune* and *Business Week*); this argument obviously has not been accepted everywhere. Given the "high-tech and services" national economy that we are developing, it is clear that we must ask for some major reallocations of funds (from health, defense, retirement, and current consumption) to the education task if we are going to have the number of competent people needed to make such an economy function.

4. The education establishment must begin to love—not just tolerate—the concept of cost-benefit. Only the strong (e.g., defense interests) fear cost-benefit. For the weak, and education interest are weak, there is little to lose. This means that within available funds at the state and local level, experimentally tested redesign of our approaches to "regular" and "special" education (or integrated versions thereof) must be given a much higher priority and regularly be allotted significant portions of available funds, rather than the pittances now doled out. The educational establishment must be seen to have the commitment to accountability that Frank Macchiarola has been calling for (also, it must actually have it).

5. In the short term, regular and special education groups must give up some of their own people's funding as a way to bring the disabled-children's groups into coalition. Simply calling for coalition is not enough; interests and concerns must be shared concretely (i.e., in money, time, and votes). In some cases, existing issues can be used to develop such coalitions; in higher proportions of cases, however, shared interests are transient. Once a bill (or bond issue) is passed or stopped, coalitions tend to dissolve. Shared funding on specific shared-interest projects that are seen as benefits to both groups, over a wide set of issues, and for longer times, is more powerful in the long haul. Then, an organic economy of political exchanges has been built up which results in meaningful support on a particular issue, even if the supporting group does not feel deeply about that particular issue. At that point, the coalition can be said to be stable and relatively permanent.

Given increased political power, increased documentation of education's case, and increased ability to use arguments politically, the base is established for a better possibility of real-dollar increases.

6. We should have a vision. This item is perhaps the most important because bodies politic act on deeply felt beliefs that arise out of past visions. Vision is a story of what is possible. It is built up out of the heightened imagination of reformers, backed by coherent rhetoric and some decent evidence, and given time to be disseminated. As an "outsider," my perception of the integrated, autonomously led, accountable education system (which seems to be clear in the visions of Howsam, Hersh and Walker, Sam Kirk, Reynolds and Wang, Macchiarola, and a number of other conferees) is that it could be an extremely powerful vision, eventually.

With increased participation by highly motivated disability groups, unity among educators, increased documentation of education's case, increased ability to formulate that case in a way that persuades the public and its representatives, and the motive force of a unified vision, the education establishment could expect increased shares of the national product, beginning in the last half of the 1980s, in many states. Given this kind of success, at the state level, the basis for a national movement would be apparent.

Going Beyond the Education Establishment

To some extent, this second strategy is only an enhancement of the first. That is, as much as possible, education forces would be doing what was required in the first strategy and, at the same time, education forces in each state would be following a political/bureaucratic linkage strategy. This idea was discussed in both Stedman's and Joe and Farrow's papers. Education forces would link up with other human services groups whose responsibilities overlap with those of education departments. A few of the accounts or interests that overlap with education interests—especially special education—are listed in Table 1. The linkage would substitute for the first strategy of increasing indentifiable education appropriations. Instead of organizing to make all appropriations "education dollars," special and general education forces would organize to link related-service-agency interests and funding with their own. Several effects of linkage would follow:

1. It would provide funding for education out of other "non-education" funding streams, thus diversifying funding.
2. It would tie special education costs to much larger open-ended federal generic funding streams, thus transferring cost burdens from narrower and more regressive tax bases to wider and more progressive ones.
3. Despite the complicating effect of introducing extra funding streams, the planning for the change would introduce far better understanding of the interacting costs of the whole system of services and income maintenance for children.
4. Properly done, the strategy could be used to reduce the total public costs of providing adequate special education services.

How would the strategy be carried out?

Proceeding from the long-term vision of a state children's program budget, incorporating all agencies and all major budget accounts at both state and local levels, the strategy usually starts more opportunistically than that. Long-term visions need a foundation of perceived success. Therefore, the strategy usually starts with a high pay-off project.

Securing the Initial Interest and Allegiance of Other Agencies. In general, a ling agency by itself never attempts to develop a cooperative budget relation with another line agency. The "market" for interagency agreements is never in a nonexpansionist bureaucratic agency. That market is in the governor's office, the state budget office, or the legislature. It is there because all three must meet the basic dilemma of all elected officials: increase services while lowering taxes. If a solution to that dilemma can be found which also includes the tying together of two agencies, then the two agencies will be tied together (by interagency agreement, not by merger or reorganization).

The point, of course, is that only a higher level of bureaucratic authority can tie any two lower levels together—and there must be an overwhelming

Table 1

Agencies and Accounts or Programs within Agencies at the State Level with Interests That Overlap with Those of Special Education and Education in General

Agency	Program or Account
Public Welfare	Social Services, AFDC, Foster Care, Child Welfare, Medicaid, SSI
Health	Maternal and Child Health/Children and Youth, WIC, Crippled Children's Program, Wellness Programs, Institutional Licensing and Monitoring Programs
Mental Health/Mental Retardation-Developmental Disabilities	Institutional Programs, Community Grants, Foster Care, Family Support/Subsidy Programs
Vocational Rehabilitation	Medical Rehabilitation, Voc. Rehab. SSI/SSDI Voc. Rehab., Disability Determination Unit (for SSI and SSDI), Deaf and Blind Rehabilitation Programs
Corrections	Juvenile Programs in Institutions and Communities.

reason for doing so because large bureaucratic agreements always violate built-in, powerful inertias—and, thus, are never easy.

The "overwhelming reasons" for the agreement nearly always are fiscal. For example, if it could be shown that approximately 20 percent of the state and local special education budgets (which are now state and local tax dollars) could become part of the Medicaid budget in the state social services agency, and thereby federal funding that would amount to 11 percent of the special education budgets (55 percent X 20 percent) could be obtained, that would an "overwhelming reason."

If it could be shown further that a number of children in the foster care area, MR and mental health agencies, and placements from local school boards all were in extremely high-cost care environments which were (a) paid for by a very large number of federal, state, and local dollars, and (b) very ineffective in achieving results compared to less expensive care alternatives closer to home; and, that the shift of these children into care environments closer to home or in their own homes would provide better outcomes at lower total dollar costs, with higher proportions of federal matching, *that* would be an "overwhelming reason."

As it turns out, in the analysis of state budgets, various forms of those overwhelming reasons are always there, even during the time of Reagan Administration cutbacks. Gunnar Dybwad laid out the cost-related part of the reasoning, in his reaction to Stedman's paper:

> The costs of long-term care can add up to a staggering sum as the years go by. Thus, even a lessening of the degree of care required—a lessening of dependency—by the acquisition of a simple skill can constitute a tremendous savings over the years. . . . Any program of effective care that results in the avoidance of 24-hour care in an institutional service system, any program with a home-based approach, that is, using the family's natural setting and strength, which offers the family a support system that includes services in and outside the home, is apt to be very cost effective.

Dybwad's reasoning is not "academic." A number of trade-off studies in human services indicate very large savings with equal or better outcomes on a long time horizon (and sometimes very short one) in mental retardation, mental health, alcoholism, and services for dependent and neglected children, among others.

One striking piece of evidence here is Lakin & Hill's study, showing dramatic changes in median age of first entry into an out-of-home care environment for mentally retarded children during the 1970s (from age 11 at the beginning of the decade to age 18 at the end).[1] We have no good reasons for why the change should have occurred, except that homeoriented community services, whether funded through Title XX of the Social Security Act or increased special education budgets, apparently made it much easier for such children to remain at home longer.

With such overwhelming reasons for interagency agreement, we have the interest and compliance of the related-service agency but not its allegiance. If all that the agreement does is to turn the related-service agency into a funding conduit for the education agency, the first will feel that it has been bureaucratically raped. *Quid pro quo* must be arranged, for example, using part of the savings as service-expansion dollars to a given area of special education related services, where the services are provided by the related-services agency; or, transferring the services of interest from one agency to another, according to the preferences of the related-services agency (they may want to be rid of the responsibility for the service in their budget). Beyond this, it may be possible to define legislative appropriation procedure so that the item (which otherwise would show in the related-service agency's budget, thus letting them take the heat for the cost without getting any credit for providing the service) could be shown in the education agency's budget rather than in the related-service agency's budget. Last, if there is *any* increased labor or inconvenience incidental to carrying out the agreement, the salary and expense item for the related-services agency should be increased, using part of the savings due to the policy, at the urging of the education agency.

Developing Closer Linkages through Understanding of Trade-offs between Available Programs, and Building Interagency Programs on Them. The purchase of allegiances can go only so far. Beyond is the need to establish clearly symbiotic relations between programs. One powerful way to do so is through the exploration and understanding of trade-offs of cost and benefit among different options. For example, if the programs for pre-school children tend to be in the department of health, a joint study and understanding of the long-term net income maintenance, health, and education savings, educational achievements, and independence of life effects attributable to those programs can undergird agreements to use education funds to support the programs. Such evidence supports the basic human capital investment argument upon which education appropriations so much depend. At the same time that this evidence shows the effects of such programs in avoiding institutional costs, it is possible to negotiate what amounts to an intraprogram transfer within the Medicaid and child welfare accounts in the department of social services, from institutional investments to home-based and community pre-school programs. The more such "organic" relations are clarified and understood, the greater the symbiosis between the two or more participating departments.

The same kinds of relations can be built at the other end of the school-age continuum by negotiating agreements with vocational rehabilitation, state community college and university systems, and programs that provide residential and other services for the age 18-and-older groups. The joint use with other agencies of primary and secondary-oriented funding as transitional monies to move handicapped students into adequate adult or pre-adult environments has high interorganizational payoff as well as far better program outcomes. For example, a program with the vocational-technical education network that moves students (who otherwise would ordinarily go into a sheltered workshop environment) into private (subsidized, in some cases) employment will result in declines in vocational rehabilitation, MH/MR, and Medicaid funds (not to mention SSI on the federal side—but many states contribute supplements here that also would be saved). Thus, education contributes money—directly or indirectly—to vocational rehabilitation and community colleges, in joint programs for specific groups, and enjoys a three-way symbiosis for what could be a small increase in education funds and a total *decrease* in human service investments in that group. With such a program, it also provides increased parental and young adult support for all three agencies.

Develop On-going Flexibility through Developing an Interagency Budgeting Tradition. How does the education agency get the assent needed to pursue such new avenues? Essentially, the assent comes from having sponsored an interagency budgeting approach at the state's central planning and budgeting point and in the legislature. The initial momentum comes from seeing the additional federal funds that are available. The on-going momentum comes from developing a number of interagency "deals" based upon useful programmatic trade-offs (including visible programmatic savings). After a while, a general attitude is created in the state government which makes such deals much easier to work out.

To make the practice flower, however, an on-going bureaucratic instrument is needed: the interagency program budgeting group. Located administratively above the line-agency level, this group develops individual program and budget alternatives (or tests the budget implications of suggested programs for program people in the agencies). Ultimately, such a group would develop a full-blown "children's budget" for both state and local (county and school board) agencies and accounts. The budget would be designed to isolate costs of in-school regular services, in-school special services, out-of-school residential services, and non-residential services for children, across each agency, across each large target group (physical handicap, mental retardation, mentally ill, behavioral problem, terminated parental rights, etc.), and across types of residential locations for children. As a basis for considering alternative program flows with differing fiscal and client outcomes, it would include alternative possibilities for financing program eligibility (e.g., child nutrition, AFDC, SSI, Medicaid, VA, private insurance, etc.) for each major group of children; alternative program possibility information, for consideration of changing program configurations for children; and flow information in the various major programs now in existence.

The concept may sound "utopian" but it is essentially only a systematization of what *ad hoc* interagency committees, legislative researchers, or line-agency top executives usually discuss (in a much more random information manner) when a program analysis or financing problem comes up. As a result, it tends to provide a more disciplined focus on what is wanted in information systems or special studies. And, it has the further effect of providing an "alternatives discipline" in the human services environment, an environment that usually is more afflicted with "no-alternatives drift" (i.e., we consider going only in the direction we are already headed, with no sense of alternative possibilities).

When that group produces for a given target group an interagency program and fiscal plan in which programmatic and fiscal interests coincide, the plan tends to form a "lock" among the agencies involved over time. Even if one participant may want out, it would be very difficult. If the plan is well designed, then interest groups which may have heretofore dealt with one agency now realize that they have a concrete interest in each of the other agencies involved, and add constituency linkage to budget and program linkage.

The Implications for Education Interests

For years, education budgeting has been an arcane lore not much understood by the citizenry or even by budget specialists not directly involved in it. To follow either strategy, education budgeting will have to emerge in a more public budgeting area. In the strategy that goes beyond education, education budgeting will have to become far more program-budgeting-oriented than before, more person-data-oriented than before, more cost-and-benefit oriented than before, and more longitudinal-data-oriented than before.

If educators follow the second strategy, it will mean living with a difficult paradox. Organizationally, within education, education interests will be laboring to reduce categorization and to introduce the technology that makes a more adequate mainstream classroom a possibility. At the same time, in their use of program and budget information, and in their interagency agreements, educators will be bound more closely to a "target group" (or categorical or labeling) approach, simply because the different categorical agencies are built that way.

More also will be required in the way of negotiating skills and multiple-program knowledge. Joe and Farrow note that most successful interagency agreements exist because the agency wanting such an agreement first has learned more about the second agency's programs than the second agency's personnel knew themselves.

The general results should be however, worth it. Providing a greater share of the GPN, more respect, a much stronger intellectual arsenal, a much larger set of allies, and measurably improved pupil outcomes are the results.

FOOTNOTE

1. K.C. Lakin & B.K. Hill. Changes in age at first admission to residential care of mentally retarded people in a period of expanding community services (CRCS Report No. 11). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Department of Psycho-educational Studies, 1982.

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